

# SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

## SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

|                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Social Pluralism                      |     |
| U. G. WEATHERLY                       | 103 |
| Watchman, What of the Night?          |     |
| EDWARD A. ROSS                        | 110 |
| Marriage and Personality              |     |
| RADHAKAMAL MUKERJIE AND               |     |
| N. N. SEN GUPTA                       | 118 |
| Personality and Social Case Work      |     |
| EARLE F. YOUNG                        | 123 |
| Dilemma of the Modern Family          |     |
| JOHN S. BURGESS                       | 131 |
| Preparation for Leisure               |     |
| BESSIE A. McCLENAHAN                  | 140 |
| Culture Traits of Tibetans            |     |
| DORRIS E. SHELTON                     | 150 |
| "Tramping" Movement of Central Europe |     |
| JOSEPH S. ROUCEK                      | 153 |
| Types of Junior College Leaders       |     |
| CHARLES B. SPAULDING                  | 164 |
| Mexican Repatriates                   |     |
| EMORY S. BOGARDUS                     | 169 |
| Book Notes                            | 177 |
| International Notes                   | 190 |
| Social Fiction Notes                  | 198 |
| Alpha Kappa Delta Notes               | 197 |

# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

*An International Journal*

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$2.50

SINGLE COPIES, 50c

Entered as second-class mail matter October 24, 1927, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of Postage provided for in Sec. 1103, Act of October 3, 1927, authorized April, 1922

## *Editor*

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

## *Associate Editors*

CLARENCE M. CASE

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

ERLE F. YOUNG

MELVIN J. VINCENT

BESSIE A. MCCLENAHAN

MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

JOHN E. NORDSKOG

*University of Southern California*

## *Circulation Manager*

WELDON T. SPEARS

## *Coöperating Editors*

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| ROMANZO C. ADAMS . . .       | <i>University of Hawaii, Hawaii</i>         |
| WALTER G. BEACH . . .        | <i>Stanford University</i>                  |
| ERNEST W. BURGESS . . .      | <i>University of Chicago</i>                |
| F. STUART CHAPIN . . .       | <i>University of Minnesota</i>              |
| CARL A. DAWSON . . .         | <i>McGill University, Canada</i>            |
| JAMES Q. DEALY . . .         | <i>Brown University</i>                     |
| GUILLAUME L. DUPRAT . . .    | <i>University of Geneva, Switzerland</i>    |
| EARLE E. EUBANK . . .        | <i>University of Cincinnati</i>             |
| CHARLES A. ELLWOOD . . .     | <i>Duke University</i>                      |
| ELLSWORTH FARIS . . .        | <i>University of Chicago</i>                |
| LEONARD S. HSÜ . . .         | <i>Yenching University, China</i>           |
| JAMES P. LICHTENBERGER . . . | <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>           |
| RODERICK D. MCKENZIE . . .   | <i>University of Michigan</i>               |
| RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE . . .    | <i>Lucknow University</i>                   |
| HOWARD W. ODUM . . .         | <i>University of North Carolina</i>         |
| RAUL A. ORGAZ . . .          | <i>University of Cordoba, Argentina</i>     |
| ROBERT E. PARK . . .         | <i>University of Chicago</i>                |
| EDWARD A. ROSS . . .         | <i>University of Wisconsin</i>              |
| G. S. H. ROUSSOUW . . .      | <i>University of Pretoria, South Africa</i> |
| PITIRIM SOROKIN . . .        | <i>Harvard University</i>                   |
| JESSE F. STEINER . . .       | <i>University of Washington</i>             |
| LEOPOLD VON WIESE . . .      | <i>University of Cologne, Germany</i>       |
| ANDREAS WALTHER . . .        | <i>University of Hamburg, Germany</i>       |
| ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY . . .   | <i>Indiana University</i>                   |
| FLORIAN ZNANIENCKI . . .     | <i>University of Poznan, Poland</i>         |

PUBLISHED BY

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS

3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE

LOS ANGELES

# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

*November - December, 1933*

---

## SOCIAL PLURALISM

U. G. WEATHERLY

*Indiana University*

THE GROWING recognition of society as process rather than objective body is part of a change which affects the total conception of man's public relations. Primitive men had only a few basic interests, and the management of these came to be embodied in the chief or king and thus ultimately in the state. The state was conceived as a mythical person supposed to have most of the attributes of a human personality. It was conceived as a unit embodying and monopolizing the control of all social relations, the sole object of loyalty among its members. Moreover, state and society were identified in thought, so that all social activities were considered to be political in nature.

Within the past two generations a growing body of political scientists have begun to see that the state is not actually a unitary body, such as the older thought pictured it, but a complex organization containing varied functional units many of which are not properly political at all. It is a "complex of gathered unions" rather than a single juristic entity. Gierke was a pioneer in this field, and he has been followed by a body of scholars in France, England, and America, among whom Maitland, Duguit, Durkheim, Figgis, Laski, and MacIver are outstanding. It must be remarked, however, that most of these exponents of politi-

cal pluralism, while dividing the state into component units, conceive of the units as semi-legal bodies rather than spontaneous groupings, thus retaining Gierke's emphasis on their corporate nature. This is still to assume that in a certain sense society is all state, and that all association is a political process.

Bagehot was doubtless right in asserting that primitive societies, to establish order and security, had to set up rigid custom which was for them the equivalent of law in the modern state. The germ of the state, therefore, is found among even the most rudimentary groups in this form of social control. Man was always a political animal but he was also always tending to become something more. Malinowski and Hocart have demonstrated that even among custom-ruled peoples there is some measure of individual self-assertion, and have shown that the tyrannical power of custom is more apparent than real. With the gradual emergence of the individual we begin to see the differentiation of group interests that are not a real part of the control state at all. The purely political order does not and cannot express all or even the best of human social interests.

The primitive type of mind tends to personify all general facts. The social sciences, in their earlier tentative periods of growth, fell into the same tendency which has continued almost to the present time, its later form being the medieval mode of identifying names and things. Even some of the pluralists, advanced as they are in most of their ideas, still conceive of the constituent groups as organic bodies. Durkheim emphasizes the vocational group, and Duguit seems to think in terms of legal persons when dealing with functional groups. Krabbe, indeed, does speak of the state as "a community of interests," while still putting the political order in the foreground. Perhaps these



scholars are influenced by Aristotle's idea that the unique value of law lies in its universality.

Having gotten away from the concept of a single absolute sovereignty they endow these groups with a distributive sovereignty. Laski, on the other hand, utterly discards the absolutist theory. He is not concerned with the state as an organ of supreme authority, holding that it is only one among many forms of human association, and insisting that we must cease to think in territorial or purely juristic terms, but must rather conceive of a complex of autonomous interests. These interests not only have their own independent existence, but may even be conflicting and irreconcilable. This is clearly an utter abandonment of the older theory of sovereignty. It is a substitution of human interests for legal personality. Perhaps Laski carries his theory of political disintegration too far. If so, it is because, when he is talking of the state, he often means society.

If history has not followed exactly the same path as political science, it has at least gone in the same general direction. The classical type of history played up political structures and political ideas as supreme. Recently the so-called "new history" movement has turned away from political and military facts toward cultural interests. The nineteenth century saw a promising development of culture history of a rather general kind; it has remained for the present generation to bring this movement to fruition by working out the development of special phases of cultural growth. Historians now deem it their function to set forth the progress of particular interests and interest groups as at least coördinate with if not superior to political machinery. The present-day historian is likely to be interested in agricultural development more than wars, in industry more than dynasties, in regional culture more

than national politics. In other words, he has come to believe that the materials of history are to be found in those aspects of social life which have to do with interest groupings rather than mere coercive control. The fact that certain exponents of the "new history" may have carried their revolt to rather bizarre lengths does not lessen the value and significance of the movement.

Early sociology, like politics and history, was dominated by the principle of absolutism. Comte's system, despite his attempt to get away from metaphysical conceptions, was characterized by the intellectualistic point of view. Spencer, definitely committed to the biological interpretation, treated society as an organism. Both, therefore, thought predominantly of society as a body rather than a process. Both may be said to have imaged what James calls a "block universe." Now society is multicellular, social life is indefinitely mobile, and modern man is at least conscious of a manifoldness of association that does not fit in with any absolutist system. The present trend of social thought is toward an emphasis on social process. Sociologists have begun to recognize that their peculiar function, as distinguished from that of the other social sciences, is a study of the mechanism of interest groupings and an analysis of group-making forces. We of the modern world are becoming group minded, as our ancestors were state-minded.

What makes this the more significant is the fact that political machinery is not adapted to the technique of association in interest groups. This does not imply that the technique of politics has become obsolete in its own particular field. It means rather that politics is an interest which, no longer dominating others as it once did, is now taking its place in the ranks as a common comrade. The state is not beginning to disappear as some radicals assert

and some conservatives fear. It is more likely that its functions will continue to expand as they have been expanding recently, but it will be increasingly recognized as an instrument and not an end in itself. Despite changes in outward form, the state has altered remarkably little in the course of time. It still retains much of the spirit of the family out of which it grew. Political institutions are notably rigid exactly because they are institutions rather than spontaneous expressions of interest. A man is born into his political system and cannot change it without burdensome effort. He can change his interest groupings almost at will and usually finds much zest in doing so.

Social progress depends on pioneering. New conditions are constantly arising that must be dealt with by methods which institutionalized politics cannot well use. New and flexible techniques have to be employed on the frontiers where the possibility of spontaneous action must not be unduly limited. It is true that these new fields of activity, once they are mastered, may be, and generally are, taken over gradually by the state, but this only emphasizes the idea that purely political agencies are not the pioneers of progress. Law, as we have hitherto experienced it, deals only with facts already worked out and established. Moreover, the true function of the state, in so far as it actually deals with cultural matters, is to help and not to control. Science, literature, art, education, and recreation have their own techniques. State churches, as parts of the political organization, are gradually disappearing because it is now recognized that religion is a matter that properly pertains to the individual, or the special interest group.

Obviously the pluralistic conception of society carries with it the principle of functionalism. Interest groups have come into existence in order to meet particular ends, and, whether the organization be loose or rigid, their machinery

is fashioned to meet those ends. Some exist in order to give expression to ideal interests, while others have more technical purposes the realization of which requires special organization and expert administration. In any case they concentrate on special fields which are clearly set off from other fields. Contrary to the classical conception of absolute, unitary sovereignty, one group may have a purpose in complete antagonism to that of others, a situation inconceivable in a genuinely sovereign state. A man may thus coöperate sympathetically in one group with persons whom he is actively opposing in other groups interested in different matters. Further, a man may be a member of one group where his interest is only casual and where he is merely a private in the ranks, while at the same time belonging to another group where he functions as a leader by reason of his special power or expertness.

There are of course some groups which stand midway between the purely volunteeristic and the corporate type. Such are corporations privately owned and working for private gain which function as purveyors of goods to the mass of the community, or which render services that imply a contract between producer and consumer. A railway, a gas company, a bank, or a telephone company is clearly not on the same plane as a fraternal order, a bar association, a medical society, or an antituberculosis society. The former bodies are semipublic and to some extent come properly under legal control while retaining some of the traits of private business. The latter, even if they are formally incorporated as is now the case with a great many, are predominantly spontaneous and self-governing. By incorporating they seek to gain some of the advantages of systematic organization without surrendering much of their character as volunteer bodies.

An elemental function of the political state is the control and protection of individuals through the exercise of the

police power. The classical theory implies that all groups within the state are created by it, are controlled by it, and function only through it. The pluralistic theory allows to the state authority over individuals, but assumes that interest groups have a life of their own not necessarily derived from the state, and not functioning through any political agency. The struggles of the past two centuries have, in fair measure, secured political rights and political freedom for the individual, but social freedom is another matter. Its fate is not necessarily connected with the exigencies of political life at all, for it may exist under a political despotism if the despot chooses to allow his subjects a certain degree of liberty, just as it may be absent in a political democracy. The proper function of the state in relation to interest groups is to act as a balancing and adjusting force, which prevents them from becoming too volatile and irresponsible, and which safeguards the rights of other co-ordinate groups.



## WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?\*

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

*University of Wisconsin*

SINCE THE founding of our Society sociology has emerged from the self-justifying stage. We hear less as to its nature, scope, methods, and relations to other sciences. Its right to exist being no longer challenged, our chief concern now is to "deliver better goods," that is, to shed on social questions of the day a light ever more clear and illuminating. Faculty opposition to instruction in sociology is now so slight that we can afford to ignore onslaughts upon academic sociology. Few, indeed, are the institutions which pretend that sociology does not exist. Students clamor for it and the registration for courses in sociology justifies the offering of them.

There has been a momentous growth of the public which has heard of sociology, takes it seriously, and harkens to what it has to say. This, I suppose, is because we can set so many questions in a new light. Consider, for example, the contrast between the old, sentimental, moral-religious, ultra-patriotic way of looking at population questions with the clear-eyed, realistic, and factual way of regarding them which prevails among sociologists. In the Orient—where there has been no slow infiltration of Malthus' ideas—the contrast is far more striking than it is with us. Or compare the present output on the American race problem with that of the eighties. Then, there was no appreciation of the power of inherited culture patterns over our thought and feeling, and it was assumed that the judgment of representative intelligent Southerners as to the southern

\* Speech given at the American Sociological Society Dinner, 1932.

Negro's nature and possibilities was of great value. It was not realized that the culture the black man inherits is quite different from that of the white man, and that a long time will elapse before the bulk of the Negroes will be rid of their crippling heritage and show what they can do working under the same culture as the white man. The best books on the American race question in the eighties would be hooted at were they to appear today. Not only were they out of sympathy with the Negro, but they builded on ungrounded assumptions, took for granted much that today we regard as very questionable. Again, compare the present attitude toward divorce with that of the eighties. Then divorce was looked upon as an act of free will, which might be stayed by citations from the Bible or from church law, or by appeals to conscience. Now we see domestic discord more as an inevitable consequence of maladjustment in the sex relation, or as a phenomenon correlated with certain developments within society.

The new passion for measuring social or moral phenomena is encouraging. One can hardly conceive what loose statements were put into circulation before the era of quantitative methods. An eminent lawyer, afterwards ambassador to Great Britain, in an article in *North American Review* in 1884, averred that 999 out of a thousand individuals seeking divorce have already picked out the one whom they intend to marry as soon as they are free. Later, statistics showed that in Rhode Island at this time the number of divorced persons remarrying was only 28 per cent of those obtaining divorces!

The corporation attorney resisting a minimum wage act on behalf of working girls asserts that they are living at home with their parents and that what most of them are out for is "pin money." This view is dreadfully effective in blocking us until the investigator shows that only a

trifling per cent of working girls are working merely for pin money and that most of them have nothing to live on but their wages.

The Wardian idea, that more and more will society undertake to shape its own destiny, has completely triumphed among sociologists. Disciples of Spencer's and Sumner's *laissez faire* are no longer to be found. On the other hand, faith in a fixed and final stage of society which may be reached in a generation or two, after which there will be no more exploitation, no more accumulation of tensions, no more conflicts, because the occasion for them—the private ownership of the means of production—has passed away forever, has greatly ebbed. Now no one dreams of a near social future altogether free from strains and tensions.

In some ways we are less sanguine than we used to be, in other ways we are more so. We dream less of a perfect society, perceiving that such a society cannot be realized until profound changes have taken place in the popular culture. On the other hand, the venerable culture of the Chinese is rapidly breaking up, Turkey is modernizing herself with even greater speed than Japan did, India is seething, Egypt is treading in the footsteps of Turkey. Yet it has been only seven years since a British college president in India said to me, "Caste will be here a million years hence."

Increasingly, economists are willing to make over to us certain provinces they have tried to cultivate but are not equipped to deal with adequately owing to the non-economic factors involved. I refer to such matters as population, standards of living, consumption, industrial conflict, and the problem of women and children in industry.

While things are coming our way let us be on our guard against certain untoward tendencies which show themselves here and there.

One is the ideal of cloistered detachment. Ought we to refrain from applying the findings of our science to current thinking upon the social problems of our time? No! a thousand times No! If we refrain, others less competent than we and less disinterested will make the application. Our main business, of course, is to develop a graspable, teachable, trustworthy body of knowledge about society, for if one devotes himself to a single social problem he becomes a technologist rather than a scientist. Nevertheless, sociology exists to serve men, and when so many shallow enthusiasts, charlatans, and schemers are shouting, the sociologist ought to be permitted his cool acrid comments. Instead of ducking or remarking "I have nothing to say" when approached regarding prohibition or race discrimination or companionate marriage or birth control or sexy motion picture films, we ought, in case we think we see into the matter clearly, to give our conclusions boldly and in plain terms along with the supporting facts or analyses. Of course I am not urging sociologists to woo the limelight or to leap gaily into the rough-and-tumble of popular controversy.

We are warned that taking a stand as to social policy involves not only an understanding of society, that is, scientific sociology, but also the setting up of a social objective, which, of course, does not come from our sociology, but from our temperament, our experience, or our philosophy. Very well, that none be misled, let the sociologist state his objective or ideal at the very time he defines his position regarding a practical social problem. Let his utterance be couched in some such form as this: Assuming that equality of opportunity (or survival of the fittest, or personal freedom, or rugged individualism, or minimization of conflict) is a major goal of our society, I am against Such-and-Such a policy for the following reasons: . . . .

As sociology gains standing with the thoughtful it is to be hoped that more and more its light will be sought when social policies are under consideration; and I know of no reason why those who possess this light should not let it shine.

Then there are those who fear warmth of heart, wish us to rid ourselves of all emotion. I cannot hold with those who would dehumanize sociology, make it as unemotional as the study of calculus. Such a view works always in favor of the status quo, makes us willy-nilly allies of the well-fixed, of the "nice people." No one who really understands scientific method should have difficulty in keeping his indignation or sympathies from vitiating his quest for the truth.

I should indeed be mortified if we came to a time when sociology said nothing that would help the underdog, or cause dismay and wrath among entrenched exploiters, or the masters of propaganda, or the possessors of a stranglehold. At certain times or under certain circumstances it is the most sacred duty of the sociologist to "raise hell." When sociology becomes a cold "pure" science, having nothing to say on behalf of the victimized, the enslaved, the oppressed, the handicapped, it will cease to attract the type who have made it what it is.



## MARRIAGE AND PERSONALITY

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJIE and N. N. SEN GUPTA

*University of Lucknow*

THE TWO fundamental institutions, namely, marriage and religion, which have appeared in different forms in the course of cultural evolution, are recognized by all to depend upon the relations of the personality and also on its development which they again influence and direct. Personality is a state of balance, though a constantly shifting one, which involves the coördination and confluence of various aspects of mental life and behavior as also of objects and values. The nucleus or focus is said to be the self or the ego-feeling, which, in the light of modern psychology, is built out of the raw materials that organic nature supplies. The organic and kinesthetic sensations with the emotional tones which invariably accompany them through their fusion constitute the core of the ego. It is for this reason that unbalance of the body through the exigencies of normal growth, as also of disease, malformation, and arrest, involves a radical transformation of the character of the ego-feeling. It follows that an eruptive organic function like sex would leave its indelible impress during the critical stages of the growth of the body on the contour of the personality. The self-feeling, however, constitutes a relatively isolated experience which through training and circumstances relates itself to changing mental states, interests and impulses, and the behaviour patterns of the individual. These represent the instruments through which the organism seeks adaptation to its environment. Man's behaviour patterns, again, are fashioned out of reflexes, instincts, and habits, which also require coördination

with the processes on the plane of consciousness. In the same way, the objects of the environment, which fulfill the bodily and mental needs, form a relatively independent system which has to be coördinated through individual effort with behaviour and the conscious series. The organization of each of these fourfold sets of factors, as also their integration, marks the development of the personality. Thus the ego-feeling with which we started has to be blended or fused with the psychical plane of impulses, feelings, ideas, and interests, which in their turn have to be coördinated with behaviour. Further, the whole range of intra-organic factors has to be made adequate for the attainment of objects and values in a concrete situation in order that the complex of personality so built up may be effective for the purpose of adaptation.

We have been compelled to sketch above a theory of personality in a rather abstruse form, but it is obvious that sex plays a dominant rôle in each of the component phases in the integration of the personality. The organic sensations of the reproductive system normally blend with other organic sensations in the composition of the ego-feelings, investing the latter with a pleasurable and excitant emotional tone. Sex as a constituent of the ego experience is hardly discernible as such. But the atrophy or hypertrophy of the sex organs in their wider significance as also their mal-functioning would inevitably alter the ensemble of organic sensations and thus transform the ego-feeling. Thus castration or sex debility due to organic causes has been found to develop attitudes of listlessness or unquiet. In the same manner the sex impulse as a distinct and potent drive is assimilated with more or less success in the normal course of feelings, impulses, and ideas. The pre-adolescent stage is a good illustration of a harmony which is bound to disappear with the specification of the sex

urge. In youth a fresh coördination of the impulses and a new type of harmony are attempted. The integration of the mental processes which such a harmony implies would obviously disappear when sex impulse appears with an unwontedly greater or less driving force.

The exaggeration of sex instinct would throw the individual off his balance and make adaption to the external circumstances difficult, while its suppression would lead to a severe inner strain or conflict. While the significance of sex as an element of the ego-consciousness is largely determined by factors of heredity and accidents of bodily development, in the plane of conscious states and attitudes it is largely determined by training and social suggestion. The integrated series of conscious states and processes are said to determine the type and sequence of motor patterns. But some of these are guided not by their conscious but by their organic antecedents, and by external stimuli. Sex thus may appear as a reflex or habitual mode of behaviour sometimes running contrary to the general tendencies of the ego and of the conscious states. In such circumstances the sex reflexes may function in relative independence of the somewhat well-balanced self and mind, although such transgressions may have their influence on the latter. The sudden temptation and "fall" of celibate ascetics of recognized virtue and culture illustrates this type of phenomenon. The organization of the constituents of motor patterns, of the conscious states, and of the ego-feeling, as also the coördination of these with one another, are fundamental to the building up of the personality. Yet there is another factor which we cannot disregard. While the subjective states constitute one pole of personality, the behaviour patterns and their objects represent the other pole. It is for this reason that in the estimation of a personality we may start either from the norm of objective

values and behaviour or from that of inner harmony and discipline.

In fact, the system of objects and values to which the individual seeks adjustment is largely prescribed by social contacts and traditions, so that the task of the individual is rather one of accommodation and compromise than of creation and organization. Thus the situations in which love may have free play are prescribed by social suggestion and culture to which the individual merely conforms. These determine again the values which man seeks in love in their relations to the satisfaction and fulfillment of other interests and activities. Through all the ages the status of love-unions in the personal scheme of rights and duties has been governed largely by social and economic standards, as also, in the case of ancient Sparta or in war times, exclusively by military considerations. In moribund and stationary societies where conventions represent a rigid and artificial scheme which appeals neither to the subjective nor to the motor life of the individual, the sex life asserts itself in an aggressive form disturbing the balance of subjective attitudes. New standards of love and modes of sexual behaviour may thus win social recognition and finally enable individuals to regain the balance in desires and conduct which is difficult to achieve apart from the general tenor of group life. In times of rapid social change, when the scheme of values is in the melting pot, an inner poise and harmony of different interests is difficult to attain. It is only through the creative effort of the individual that a relatively stable scheme of values emerges which can bring about a coherence between conduct and the inner dispositions. For this reason every social cataclysm always brings in its train neuroses on a wide scale traceable to maladaptation and lack of integration in man's affective and conative life. It is a stage where the organizations and

coördinations which the personality process necessarily implies are difficult to obtain.

The ego-feeling, as we have conceived it, is a projection on the mental plane of all the tendencies with which individual heredity and the evolution of the race have invested the body. In the usual concourse of mind, the ego is hardly to be discerned, although philosophers of all ages have made much of self-consciousness as the ever-present factor of knowledge and action. Even in its latent form, it may serve to feed the impulses and mental states, which arise in order that organisms may secure an effective orientation in the situations in which they are placed. It also has its manifest influence upon the pattern of behaviour, which is the culminating stage of the individual's effort at adaptation. The objects and situations which elicit the behaviour pattern range from those which fulfill the bare physical needs to those representing ideal values which the individual creates and social culture conserves. Personality represents an inner process by which a balance and harmony is brought about in every phase of individual adjustment, implicating as it does the whole series from the unfashioned ego experiences to the individual ends and social norms. The raw materials of personality which nature supplies thus have to be shaped and chiseled by energy and determination. The ego-feeling uninfluenced by habit and training usually presents a variety of conflicting tendencies, as we find in the changing moods of the child and the uneven temperaments of the adolescent with their marked resemblance to neuroses. The eccentric tendencies of the ego-feeling can only be balanced and coördinated through adequate social stimuli, which are mainly represented by the individual's immediate human environment. For each growing person, the particular members of his family and social group are at once



the sources of a variety of stimulations as well as end-objects of satisfaction. The ego-feeling and personality being unified systems of dispositions and behaviour, the process of unification becomes difficult if the individual's primary needs and interests are focused towards a large number of persons who do not consolidate in any natural or stable group.

The continuous cityward drift characteristic of all industrial civilizations and the preponderance of a floating immigrant population in the big cities have brought into prominence the unstable personality of the transient laborer and the hobo and other workers entirely uprooted from a fixed economic habitat, and are in no small measure responsible for the alarming growth of urban crime, suicide, and other symptoms of the maldeveloped personality. On the other hand, the rural population, which is rooted to the soil and stay-at-home, represents relatively stable personality classes, as the statistics of crime and insanity in various countries amply indicate. In spite, however, of the changing scene and economic environment, there is chance of the normal development of personality if the immediate human environment, namely the family, retains a relatively rigid organization. Thus in ancient Israel and Arabia, the stability of the patriarchal family among the wandering tribes largely accounts for the religious and cultural development, the basis of which is to be sought in rich and mature personalities such as those of the long series of patriarchs, religious teachers, and rulers. The nomadic gypsies who have been traversing the plains of Asia and Europe for ages exhibit, on the other hand, little family solidarity, and have contributed little to culture. In advanced civilizations where political and economic vicissitudes frequently disturb man's economic and social orientation, there is discernible a tendency to render the

family group rigid and impervious to alien influences, as the social history of China and India would show. These are countries which have attached more value to the inner balance of personality than to objective reality.

A limited and stable human environment as instanced by the family seems then to be the essential factor in moulding the personality, which alone renders possible the most effective individual adjustment on the one hand and the reception of cultural values on the other. The human group can become stable only when as many basic needs of the individuals are mutually satisfied as possible. Since sex and food are two urgent drives of nature, it follows that a group in which the fulfillment of these is not involved cannot be the nucleus of an enduring association. This is well illustrated in the development of social institutions. The natural and fundamental social unit is the family, based on the man-woman, food, and sex relations. The history of matrimonial institutions shows that man's and woman's sexual urge refuses to be limited to single persons, but that history also reveals the fact that the range of sexual desire is circumscribed, in itself imposing a natural limitation to the number of men and women in sexual association. But sex is always associated with food, which introduces a further limitation in the size of the group in which both the desires may be satisfied. The needs of food and shelter and other animal comforts as well as aesthetic traditions and social conveniences are focused together with sex in selecting, individuating, and stabilizing the partnership in life. And it is through such coördination and blending of interests, feelings, and ideas that personality grows with the sex impulse as a nucleus.

But the function of the limited family environment is far more significant. When the functions of the body run a smooth course, there is a feeling of physical well-being

which releases physical and mental energy for other adaptive activities. In the same way, when the basic animal desires are blended and satisfied in specified human objects, in limited space, and in defined situations, the sense of effort and restlessness tends to disappear. Human impulses are rendered, so to speak, stereotyped, involving but little strain on mind and body. Such a condition can alone assure a feeling of well-being, which permits the pursuit of more complex and remote ends and values.

Marriage as an institution, representing as it does a variety of human values, implies a limited and durable sexual association, and serves to integrate not only the various levels of sex responses but also sex responses with other fundamental drives. In this process there is necessarily a coalescence of emotions and other conscious states correlated with the different instincts. It is through this that a personality gradually develops. The growth of personality rests upon the basis of a mechanization of those instincts and desires which possess an eruptive character disturbing the process of effective adjustment to the group and to the physical environment. The conations, satisfied and mechanized, establish an organic equilibrium which reflects itself in the field of consciousness as a widely diffused agreeable feeling tone. Human nature thus set free from the fluctuations of desires develops finer shades of feelings and conations, subtler ideas and ideals, and thus attains new modes of adjustment to higher planes of norms and values.

## WHAT TYPE OF PERSONALITY SHOULD BE THE GOAL OF SOCIAL CASE WORK?

ERLE F. YOUNG

*University of Southern California*

SOCIAL CASE WORK has been strongly influenced by the cultural background of social workers. Much of its philosophy, purpose, and method is more or less deliberately directed to the preservation or reconstruction of the institutions, ideals, and ideas of rural and semi-rural America, in which a vast majority of present-day social workers spent, at least, their childhood. Even those who are city-born are for the most part natives of newborn cities in which rural conceptions of life and behavior patterns still prevail despite the tremendous size to which many of these cities have recently grown. In fact, there are relatively very few people in America who are habituated to urban life, fully adjusted to urban conditions and "urban-minded." The Jews are perhaps the only group in America who have a long tradition of city-dwelling, who have also shown ability to survive under urban conditions, favorable and unfavorable.

Among American city dwellers there is a widespread sentiment that city life is unnatural, unsuited to the satisfaction of the basic requirements of human life; there is a measurable tendency to flee from the city under provocation. The factors, therefore, which produced the city have encountered considerable resistance in the culture-traits of the very populations which they have drawn to them. Moreover, the social organization of American cities exhibits a wide variety of directly transplanted rural institutions frequently with little modification though the

seeds of disintegration have long since sprouted. Social workers and social case workers in particular have looked with apprehension upon these endangered institutions and have made strenuous efforts to repair the damage. Much family social work is frankly an attempt to maintain the traditional forms of parent-child, husband-wife, employer-employee, pastor-communicant, teacher-pupil relations, to revive old neighborhood, brotherhood, and tribal relations sanctioned by generations, if not centuries of usage. They would replace the impersonal, anonymous, rational, dollar-valued individualism of the city with the warm, intimate personal primary group relations of rural life.

It is becoming increasingly evident, however, that the city has come to stay and that within it a new style of life is rapidly developing which is not only characteristic of city dwellers but is now rapidly spreading into rural areas. It is difficult for many to realize the extent to which the transition from primary group life to metropolitan life has already gone. The transition has not been without severe growing pains. It is entirely possible for the detached observer to view these disorders as normal to such transition periods; not as pathological symptoms but as normal phases of the process of social reorganization.

If these assumptions are correct, the task of the social case worker, then, can best be viewed as that of assisting clients to make the adjustment to this new order of social life, in short, to recondition them to the requirements of city life.

Unfortunately, sociology is not yet prepared to give any well-rounded account of the nature of this readjustment process. Nevertheless, certain of the larger outlines have been explored and a general theory can be stated.

In terms of the interplay of personality and social institutions, as motivated by the basic social wishes, we may



view the earlier organization of American life in its idealized typical form, as fundamentally a grouping of stable family groups in neighborly relationships, served by a relatively small number of institutions which exercise social control, chiefly through the little-felt weight of the long established folkways and mores.

Within such a group the individual had a well-defined status, played a largely predetermined rôle, lived the most of his life in public, as it were, and was in more or less personal and intimate relation with all the other members of the group. His whole personality entered into all the relationships he maintained; he knew but this one group which was so organized that whether he worked, played, or worshiped, his fellow participants were the same individuals, or, at least, drawn from the same large intimate group. It goes without saying that this idealized type of primary group was seldom found without some admixture of elements foreign to it. The nearest approach to it is the isolated sectarian groups of the last century scattered through the Middle West.

Diametrically opposed to this form of social life is the idealized urban community which, if we are to judge by present tendencies, city life of the rather near future will approximate. The major characteristics of urban organization are the multiplicity of groups within its larger structure, the wide diversity of activity, philosophy, and purpose of these groups, and the astonishing tolerance they display toward each other. The urbanite, therefore, tends to associate with as many groups as he has interests. Each group characteristically has a distinct membership, so that the urbanite does not attend church with the same persons with whom he works, he does not work with the members of his own family and may not even engage in recreational activities with them.

That is, each group knows the person only in one relationship, and most probably is not acquainted with other aspects of his life. A vast proportion of his life and thoughts thus become private and there may be no one who knows his entire personality. Each knows only that segment which enters into the particular activity in which the two engage.

It is interesting that the lists of personality traits by which social psychology has traditionally sought to describe personality are more useful in the study of rural than of urban types. Intelligence, honesty, and the like are traits which the urbanite may display in one social situation but not in another. Just as his rôle may change from one of dominance to one of submission as he passes from business to family life, so the traits he displays are apt to be relative to the situation in which he finds himself. We need, therefore, in describing the individual as intelligent, to indicate whether we are judging him with reference to his behavior in a voting booth, on the witness stand, in the classroom, or before a stock quotation board.

The situation becomes problematic when two groups in which he participates are in conflict with each other. The simplest illustration is the case of the culture-hybrid who is seeking to maintain status in two conflicting culture groups. The situation of the urbanite is more complicated since he may and usually does participate in from five or six to a score or more groups among whom widely different social codes and behavior patterns are found concerning such matters as dress, language, sex behavior, opinion, and general behavior. It is not simply a case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde but of a whole series of personalities all developed more or less fully within the individual, one for each distinct social group with which he identifies himself. As far as these groups are in conflict with each other he tends

to develop mental conflict between the corresponding segments of his personality.

Mere differences between groups do not result necessarily in social conflict; such differences may persist due to accommodation which is notably in evidence in urban life. Wholly incompatible groups persist over long periods of time under urban conditions. The number and variety of these groups are so great that the urbanite can comparatively easily find opportunity for an outlet for almost any impulse he may have. He thus has a freedom of action quite unknown to the rural personality. He may, therefore, not only segmentalize his life but may engage in the most extraordinarily inconsistent and mutually repugnant forms of behavior, change his language, behavior, opinions, and even morals almost as easily as he does his coat without compromising his status, in any of the other groups to which he belongs. The alterations of personality which, let us say, the business man displays as he travels from home to office, to golf course, to church, to lodge, to night club, to convention city, to service club may indeed be so profound as to lead the observer to judge him to be not the same man upon his entry into each new group.

Yet he is a single individual; he has, after all, but one mind, one total personality. How out of the many parts does he create a whole? How are the glaring inconsistencies of his behavior reconciled within his own conscience? Is there, or need there be, somewhere within some single point of reference by which all actions and thoughts are judged? Why is not such a personality literally torn to tatters by mental conflicts raging at every point at which one code impinges upon another? How can such gigantic hypocrisies exist without destroying not only the personalities which harbor them but the social order which tolerates them?

As yet we have only a few suggested answers to these questions. In the first place we know that thousands have been caught in the battle between the conflicting groups. Our mental disease hospitals are filled with cases of "functional psychosis," and with neurotics, psychoneurotics, and schizophrenics who are so preoccupied with the attempt to deal with unassimilated experiences that their minds are no longer useful instruments of social adjustment. The experiences of a host of cultural hybrids have been studied and published and the story of youth-in-conflict is well known.

The mass of the population which has come under modern urban influences has not suffered so severely as these groups yet they do exhibit a wide range of social pathological symptoms. Domestic infelicity, industrial maladjustment, crime and delinquency, are peculiarly prevalent in those groups which have most recently come under the new urban forces.

Human nature has shown surprising adaptability to the new demands which have been placed upon it. Increasing tensions have been met by it in a variety of ways which serve to "resolve the conflict" in a more or less normal manner.

Perhaps the commonest mode of dealing with incompatible experiences is rationalization by means of which pseudo-logical justification of the inconsistent behavior is effected. A second method is the so-called flight from reality in which the individual turns to day-dreaming and fantasizing. Literature, the movies, travel magazines, and the like have made it easy for even the most unimaginative to escape, at least momentarily, from the tensions of real life. Through them he can in imagination overcome most of the handicaps imposed by time, distance, poverty, personal deficiencies, and the restrictions of conventional

life. Moreover, with improved, rapid communication he can easily visit the "escape areas" in which direct expression of his impulses is possible. Through sublimation and idealization a vast amount of impulse energy is diverted into socially acceptable forms of expression. Much direct repression also occurs without necessarily harmful effect. Diverting interests and activities also serve to relieve the tensions of mental conflict. The search for absorbing avocational interests is not infrequently merely an expression of the unsatisfactory character of other life-experiences. Even crime can act as a diversion from mental conflict.

Each of the above methods for dealing with the practical consequences of complex social situations is simply a palliative which deals only with symptoms since each merely seeks release from tensions but does not deal with the basic conditions giving rise to those tensions. The social case-worker, therefore, cannot regard these devices as more than suitable instruments for ameliorating the pains of living in a transitional society. The solution of the difficulties presented by the segmentation of personalities under urban conditions seems to lie in the development and utilization of the accommodation process. If the larger social group can harbor within its confines such widely divergent activities, interests, and styles of life, why cannot complex, many-sided personalities whose facets reflect many of these diversified groups also exist in at least as great a degree of self-harmony as the urban community as a whole represents. Such a personality is not merely sophisticated but is adjusted in the sense of being at peace with itself to such a degree, at least, that it can carry on without becoming mentally diseased. The assumption that complete assimilation of all experiences into a single whole is necessary for wholesome personality is not borne



out by the study of the modern personalities. That is, between the type of personality which is torn by conflicts and the personality type which has succeeded in assimilating all experience into a single system lies an intermediate type: The accommodated personality. It is this intermediate type which is best adjusted to urban conditions just as the sectarian type is best adjusted to rural conditions.

However, as above observed, since most social workers have rural and sectarian backgrounds they have little acquaintance with the accommodated type and have little appreciation of it. Their attempts to perpetuate the older sectarian type under urban conditions have intensified rather than ameliorated tensions. The forces of urban life are inevitably remolding the older type while tradition, habit, older ideologies are hindering that process. Properly conceived, the task of the case worker is to aid and not to hinder this transition, to help to create accommodated personalities and not to seek to perpetuate sectarian personalities at all costs. If the latter are to be preserved, they must be removed from urban life.

If this analysis be correct, the practical problems are: What shall be the mutual tolerant segments which shall be developed in urban personalities? What are the most rapid and effective methods for making the transition from rural to urban personality? And what devices can be used to discover and control those segments of experience which in the end cannot be adjusted to other segments but, if unchecked, would tend to dominate and perhaps eventually to destroy the working balance upon which the success of accommodated personalities depend?

## THE DILEMMA OF THE MODERN FAMILY

JOHN STEWART BURGESS

*Temple University, Philadelphia*

MY TITLE might better be phrased the dilemma of those who speculate as to the implications of the present changes in the family and the future developments of family relationships. No doubt this age-long institution will find its adjustment to modern changes, in spite of the theorists who tabulate trends and speculate as to the future.

This paper was written in response to a request for a discussion of the theoretical aspects of family life. The daughter of Dr. John Dewey, when in Peking in 1919 with her distinguished father, was asked by an eager Chinese university student, "Miss Dewey, what is your conception of the family?" She replied: "Pa and Ma and the kids." Efforts to put in theoretical terms subjects of common knowledge meet difficulties. One attempt on the writer's part to explain his family to the members thereof in the theoretical terms such as "a unity of interacting personalities," resulted in an avalanche of criticism of this precious formula. In many modern families there appear to be less and less interaction and occasions for interaction, and what unity there is, is less and less based upon such interaction. But I am anticipating my dilemma.

Consideration of the present-day family might well start with a reminder of the function and meaning of a social institution. Hertzler has pointed out that "institutions are more or less permanent and universal means of satisfying the common and basic needs of human beings in their respective natural and human environments," and again "social institutions are relatively abstract, but determina-

tive social forms through which these vital ends are attained." We are told that when institutions fail thus to function, they eventually disappear.

✓ Most recent studies of the family, such as those by Groves, Reuter, Goodsell, and as found in Ogburn's chapter in "Recent Social Trends," agree, at least, on one point that many and, indeed, most in number of the functions of this social institution, as operative in the last century, have disappeared and have been taken over by other institutions. The trend, unlike that of American currency, seems to be in the direction of even more "deflation." Not only the old home industries, such as weaving and candlestick-making, have gone, but canning, bread-making, cleaning, dyeing, and sewing, are gradually disappearing as household activities. The family Bible has been removed ✓ from the parlor table and is now in the garret (if there is one) covered with dust. The high priest of the family no longer leads in family prayers. The old-fashioned parties in the spacious parlor, the Thanksgiving or Christmas reunions, are depicted in the movies or enacted over the radio, but seldom found in the cramped apartment or the conventional six-room house.

We will not further enumerate the losses ✓ of family functions—religious, recreational, economic, educational, and even protective. The other side of the shield is the increase of agencies that take on activities formerly performed in the home. The rapid increase of the moving picture attendance, and the multiplication of restaurants, tell their own story. The increasing of organizations and groups to which Mr. and Mrs. John Doe, young William and Mary Doe belong; the increasing number of different kinds of jobs that take Mrs. Doe and the young Does out of the home; the mobility of the modern family that robs it of its former status-giving community functions; the

steady encroaching of public services that perform functions formerly the prerogative of the family. These are familiar to all of us.

The Russian mother of Los Angeles bitterly complains because she can no longer thrash her wayward daughter who rudely tells her that "the American police will get you if you do." Ogburn points out the weakening of the protective functions of the family as evidenced by the tremendous increase of public servants whose field of activities affects family life—the rapid increase in the number of police, guards, watchmen, detectives, probation officers, sheriffs, marshals, firemen—not to mention prohibition enforcement officers, health officers, community nurses, and visiting teachers.

Mrs. Lincoln Steffens (E. Winter) writing in *Scribner's* for April, 1933, "After the Family What?" thinks that by projecting the trends just a little further she can foresee the dissolution of this ancient institution. She quotes a Russian novelist who put into the mouth of a young expectant mother a paean of praise for the complete liberation from the hampering restraints of an outworn institution.

Most forward-looking American writers, seeing the trends as indicated, look for another outcome from the devolution of this age-long institution. We will dismiss, as impossible, the theories of those who advocate the bringing back into the home all or even most of these lost functions. Their Utopia, like Sir Thomas More's is in essence an idealizing of a former age and an attempt to re-create a family system maladjusted to our present industrial order. We take this position fully realizing that a philosophy of mere rule-of-thumb adjustment to changing conditions is also inadequate. For example, adjustments of the living arrangements of the family to the

modern city need not mean crowded tenements; with forethought and imagination it may mean garden suburbs.

A more fruitful line of thought is to consider what functions are left for the family, what functions may be enlarged or what functions may be so emphasized as virtually to become additions to the rôle of socially valuable activities of the family.

The analysis by E. W. Burgess stresses the family as an agency for development of personality, a miniature world of give and take, "a unity of interacting personalities" by means of which and through which status and social adjustment are achieved by its members. This picture is, in some respects, an enlargement of Cooley's earlier emphasis on the primary groups as creators of the essentially human values and indeed of human nature itself.

But here is where our dilemma comes in. If the creation of personality through interaction in common tasks and through the consequent personality adjustment is taken as the main rôle of the family, and if at the same time, one by one, these common activities through which such interaction takes place—recreational, educational, economic, religious—are removed from the home, will not this theoretically interacting unity be interacting in a vacuum? As Allport has said:

Forms grow out of and are related to content. If there were some new reality evolving within families, if parents and children were living their life together in new ways, then a movement for modernizing our institutional habits would be in place. The content of family life, however, is not changing, it is disappearing. When people shall have ceased to live and to participate in the freedom of face to face association, when they shall have scattered their interests into diverse organization throughout the great society, we cannot say the family has altered, we can only say that it has gone.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Must We Scrap the Family?" *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 161, (July, 1930), p. 190.



Allport's fears are based on the conception that unity of spirit depends on similarity of occupation and of specific interest. In so far as this is true his arguments seem unanswerable.

Miss Colcord, however, gives a valuable additional insight by indicating a type of unity and interaction actually operating among those of diverse interests. Here is one quotation:

Briggs had a series of cartoons a few years back in which he showed the home-coming at night of the followers of various daily occupations. The office boy would be shown recounting how he got the better of a pushing salesman, and what the boss said in approbation; the telephone girl repeats the words with which she rebuked the "fresh guy," to her mother's adoring praise, and her kid-brother's half-jeering approval. Real folks they were, giving their egos a chance to expand a little in the genial atmosphere of home. And in later series, *Mr. and Mrs.*, who can doubt the essential unity of interests of Joe and Vi, even though domestic discord seems to be a weekly visitor to their home?<sup>2</sup>

Here we have a glimpse of a new type of unity not based on authority or on a common task, indeed enriched by the sharing of a variety of interest, the unity of a little world in miniature, but distinctive, for beneath these relations is a foundation of mutual affection, of personal regard, and of deep interest in the life of each. It is not surprising that in Ogburn's chapter on "Recent Social Trends" we hear these words: "the future stability of the family will depend much more on the strength of affectional bonds." As important, therefore, as mutual activities are, we should, nevertheless, look increasingly to the affectional bonds as the basic foundation of the family of the future.

Havelock Ellis, followed by a score of others, Russell, Lindsey, Key, for example, have insisted for a generation

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Reuter and J. R. Runner, *The Family* (1931), p. 484. Adapted from Joanna C. Colcord. "Community of Interest as a Basis for Family Solidarity," *Social Forces*, Vol. VI, (June, 1928), pp. 557-579.

that the basis of true marriage is no longer primarily economic, authoritarian, or even physical, but is a spiritualized relationship of man and woman—a deepening fellowship. The essence of Ellis' philosophy of marriage is contained in these words:

But as the brain and its faculties develop, powerfully aided indeed by the very difficulties of the sexual life, the impulse for sexual union has to traverse ever longer, slower, more painful paths before it reaches—and sometimes it never reaches—its ultimate object. This means that sex gradually becomes inter-twined with all the highest and subtlest human emotions and activities, with the refinements of social intercourse, with high adventure in every sphere, with art, with religion. The primitive animal instinct, having the sole end of procreation, becomes, on its way to that end, the inspiring stimulus to all those psychic energies which in civilization we count most precious.

✓ This life of spiritual union which to many has seemed a flimsy foundation for a fundamental social institution formerly based on common economic activities, legal sanctions, and clan authority, is emerging as central for the family of the future. Maude Royden, Count Keyserling, and many others have elaborated in different ways the nature of such a growing psychic unity.

Furthermore, the psychiatrists are pointing out, in spite of their fear of the harmful effect of misdirected expression of affection for children on the part of parents, that there is no substitute as a developer of the personality and as a stimulus to the harmonious emotional growth of the young child, for the intelligently expressed affection of emotionally satisfied parents. Expert knowledge of child psychology and of the methods of habit formation is no substitute, especially during the all important first five years of life, for this affection. It would seem impossible that even the most carefully organized institutional care could as well

effect this essential combination of knowledge and affection.

That intimate personal fellowship of the kind above mentioned is needed in our highly organized society is evident. Indeed the loss of many functions formerly basic to family life may be the means of emphasizing this supremely important function. As organizations which consume the interests of the various members of the family increase—scouts, clubs, school and church clubs, Rotary, Kiwanis,—and as more and more opportunities for recreation and education are afforded by public, religious, or commercial agencies—the home may indeed lose its former recreational and educational leadership. As these activities multiply, however, the more are the home and the family needed as a place of withdrawal from competitive group activities, from organized recreation, from regimented life, a place of refreshment and inner enrichment, an intimate group based on mutual understanding and respect, and bound together by affection.

It cannot be denied that the achievement of close group unity on this basis with the purpose of authority, common economic activity, and legal compulsion, increasingly removed, is a supremely difficult task. Unity by compulsion was far easier to achieve.

Let me briefly outline some of the conditions that seem essential if marriage and family life are to be so based:

1. On the part of the parents a knowledge of the laws of physical and psychical adjustment—for such union of mind, spirit, and body is a fine art most difficult to master.
2. A further understanding on their part of the principles of the growth and development of the child so that affection may be added intelligent understanding of the interests, capacities, and problems of the child.
3. A genuine willingness on the part of parents to share with and have from their children. After the earliest year

of the child training has been completed, if the unity in diversity such as we have outlined is to be achieved, there must be a genuine sharing. In many realms the mere fact of age no longer guarantees superior knowledge or even wider experience, as the father who attempts to tell his thirteen-year-old son how to build a radio or repair an automobile may realize. The changing content of education, the specialization of interest and occupation, preclude an ex-cathedra attitude on all questions from even the oldest or the wisest.

4. Such a unity in diversity will meet constantly with situations of conflict and strain—the “tensions” that Mowrer enumerates. Those of varying ages who bring to one center the experiences gathered from many groups cannot be expected to find complete accord. Some technique of resolving conflict must be mastered.

5. Essential to a unity of the kind outlined is a respect for and interest in each individual as an end in himself. Keyserling has pointed out the importance of privacy and mutual respect in marriage. Such an emphasis is also essential in the treatment of the child. Without such regard the unity we have discovered would seem to be impossible.

6. For the modern family internal adjustment within the family life is not enough. From the larger social viewpoint, no social institution may be considered as an end in itself. It must contribute to the life of the community if it is to endure. We have already pointed out the type of personal satisfactions, of emotional release and of affectional unity which the family as no other institution can give its members. What of the relation of this modern family to the complicated life of “the great society?” Some have pointed out that the touchstone to the success of the modern family will be its ability to adapt its younger members to the life of society.

The task of the modern parent is not so much the organization of activities within family life as the coöperative undertaking of selecting between the many complicated activities which the modern community affords. To carry out this task successfully, a knowledge of the processes of community life and of community institutions is needed, as well as intimate appreciation of the capacities and abilities of the children who are making the adjustment to this outer world. ✓

The home as an affectional unity, as a source of emotional release and stability, as a reënforcer of the sense of security, as an intimate group through which medium personality is developed and given satisfaction, as a conning tower from which a better perspective of society may be gained, remains an institution that has no competitor.



## PREPARATION FOR LEISURE<sup>1</sup>

BESSIE AVERNE McCLENAHAN

*University of Southern California*

THERE ARE a number of possible interpretations of the subject, "Preparation for Leisure." It might refer to the plans which the community may make to provide for the utilization of leisure time; it might be linked with the training of recreation leaders that they may be better prepared to help the leisure-burdened spend their excess time to the best advantage; or it might be thought of in terms of the social and economic experiences of the disturbed present which are molding the attitudes of our people, both youth and adults, and which are helping to determine the social-psychological level of use of leisure time. It is, we believe, these experiences which are serving as the most vital forces in "preparing" our citizens for extended leisure. If we, as social workers and citizens, are effective in our recreation and leisure time programs, it would seem that we need to burrow a little deeper and think in terms not merely of activities, "keeping people busy," but in terms of attitudes with which people approach unoccupied time.

The outline of what constitutes preparation for leisure on the part of any of us, leader or group member, might well begin with a definition of goals for personal development and also of the attitudes which sometimes block both their definition and any measure of achievement. Recently I asked a group of club leaders to set down the list of "wants" of their adolescent club members and also to list their own wants. I have eliminated duplications and am giving you the various wants indicated, first for the club

<sup>1</sup> Presented to the Joint Meeting of the Education and Use of Leisure Time Sections, California Conference of Social Work, Sacramento, May 18, 1933.

members. In explanation, it may be stated that the clubs are conducted for the most part in what are somewhat inadequately described as "socially disadvantaged neighborhoods." The following are some of the wants of *club members* as interpreted by their leaders:

A chance to get away from the present community—camping trips, summer camps, permanent moves; occupational ambitions—to be and do something; desire to make things; more variety in recreation and entertainment—outlet for physical energy, to go swell places; beauty; money for recreation; *nice* cars, *nice* homes; election to club offices; wish to perform for the entertainment of others; want to dominate group—desire to feel superior or gain status (to be first at the bat, make the most hits), to be a "big shot," as the girls put it; desire to improve personal appearance—nice clothes; desire to be liked, to be popular—attractive manners, friends, "good-looking" boy friends; marriage—sex information; wish to do something in the world.

In addition to this list, I should like to quote verbatim two analyses, one prepared by a young woman; the other, by a young man.

What the girls in the club are striving for:

As far as I have been able to determine, the goals of the girls are as yet indefinite in their minds. They sense or feel them. As I see these girls, they want to be looked up to, have a high status in their own group; to be admired and envied; to be going every place, and the more ground covered, the happier they are; new clothes; to express themselves physically by playing baseball, volley ball, by running, skipping, yelling, etc.; three meals a day (their appetites are good); to grow up and be somebody big; to be liked at school and on the playground; to be considered as rational beings by older people and not as "dumb kids." They are interested in home-making, arts, crafts, boys. They are sex-conscious.

What the boys want:

In most cases I have found that the boys express only one or two desires, and in these desires they do not go to the impossible. It is usually something very reasonable and just barely beyond their

means. The desire for bicycles heads the list. They want camping trips; boxing gloves; books (very few wish these); hiking boots; musical instruments (it is surprising the number of boys who want musical instruments); lots of money; horseback riding; skating; swimming; motion pictures. They all want happiness, but they do not think of it in abstract terms. If they get the things they want, that is happiness to them. They all want friends.

What does the *leader* want? One club leader headed her list: "What I want from life!" As one compares the two sets of wants, that of the club members and that of the leaders, one is struck by their similarity in spite of the evidences of developing maturity of the leaders. Their wants include:

A general desire for change; a desire to create through writing; a wish to learn more of the laws of the universe—religious adjustment; a college education—ambition to study more; maintenance of family status; family affection; to be well liked; friendships—girls and boys, men and women, many friends, a variety of friends; good health; a different physiognomy and physique;<sup>2</sup> a career—to run a settlement house or some sort of a center, to find a proper vocation; time to read, to travel; to have more time to live and get the best from life; enough money so that they could do anything they wanted to—travel, read; economic independence, ability to care for parents in some way; marriage; children; a good education for their children; a nice home—ranch and animals; a feeling of self-satisfaction in what they do; something to look forward to in the future, to keep hope up.

The young woman who is the leader of the girls whose wants she has so clearly presented (quoted above<sup>3</sup>), described her own desires as follows:

What I as an individual want:

Financial independence; good health; security but also new experience (go places and see things); to be looked up to and admired,

<sup>2</sup> The young woman who made this statement is very attractive in appearance. Her explanation was that she has always felt inferior because she is tall.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 141.

that is, feel that I am important sometimes; more knowledge and educational contacts; a clear conscience; a clearer conception of what I want out of life and its meaning; a more definite realization of my religious and moral evaluations; true friendships; material comforts which I have thus far been privileged to have; a home and family in the future built on the same ideals as my immediate family; to be of service but not in a spirit of "Lady Bountiful"; to be tolerant.

The young man who has studied the wishes of the members of the boys' club<sup>4</sup> of which he is leader is very frank about his own desires.

What I want:

Establishment as a probation officer; leisure time; books of all kinds; camping trips; travel; security (that is, enough material income and property to insure a feeling of freedom from financial worry. It is a little that will do it; that is enough. It is not a large amount of money that I want but the happiness and security that can be had through it); friends, just a few that I can *know* them and have them *know* me; a car (this should go up higher in the list); a wife (do not be misled by the place this holds in the list).

It stands to reason that my wants would be better known and easier to discuss than those of the boys but it can be seen that both lists run very much along parallel lines. The difference is in the actual present wish but the drive that creates the wish is fundamentally the same.

The picture is not yet complete. We have some of youth's goals defined for us; their possible use for suggesting programs is evident. Their statements also indicate some of the personal attitudes and problems which determine the degree and kind of response that the person makes to the activities which may be provided by the community through either its private or its public recreational agencies.

Various individual attitudes, conflicts, uncertainties, and thwarted desires may promote or discourage the effort of

<sup>4</sup> See p. 141.

the person for individual achievement and his participation in group activities. They include feelings of inferiority and timidity, of lack of attractiveness, (especially lack of attractiveness for boys), of lack of family coöperation in youthful plans, of inability to enter into group play; uncertainty as to what to do and what not to do to be thought attractive and to become popular; reaction to what is regarded as too great control by parents or to the possession of parents who are "out-of-date"; lack of satisfaction of the wish to lead; intense individualism; and uncertainty of the future in terms of occupation. It is at this point that we must consider the social and economic changes and their effects upon adolescence if we are to understand the "preparation for leisure" which is accorded youth to-day.

Inevitably we begin with unemployment in the family; lack of income; the cutting down of expenses; exhaustion of resources; discouragement; deprivations; family conflicts due to idleness, and irritability; change of dwelling place from more desirable to less desirable neighborhood; debt; dependency! That is rather a black picture. We are especially concerned with the reaction of the boy and the girl and it must be kept in mind that their attitudes are frequently the reflex of the adult points of view. The following data have been received from teachers, recreation workers, and club leaders. The first quotation is from the pen of a teacher.

We deal first with the treatment of the child himself and the education he is receiving in discovering the sources of supply for his needs. In former days, parents were responsible for supplying the child's needs and if they couldn't be met, there must be substitute satisfactions or none. The child naturally turned toward his parents. Now today, there are free lunches, free clothes, and free transportation. These services have caused two types of problems.



The first we shall call "the parasites" or "moochers." They seem to want to receive just as much for nothing as they can get. They will falsify their assets in order to emphasize their lacks. If the neighborhood child can receive aid, why shouldn't they, too, profit?

There is another situation. Many people are so heavily in debt and so used to being in debt that, without fear of responsibility, they assume more debts. So to speak, they have almost become the privileged class, accepting all and paying for nothing. These people have lost the will to pay. Their children come to school and show the same characteristics. Some shirk the little help in the cafeteria that each is supposed to render in exchange for lunches. These same children may later be found in the candy line with money to spend. Frequently these children are among the number who mutilate and lose their free textbooks and supplies.

The second class is much the smaller and is apt to be as retiring as the other class is aggressive. These children are often hypersensitive and resent accepting aid. They develop an armour in some instances which consists of being moody, obstinate, and withdrawn. They feel vastly inferior to their fellow schoolmates and will try to hide their needs.

The next quotations are also taken from the statements of teachers and give concrete examples of the different reactions of school children to some of their experiences. The contrasts in behavior give evidence of attitudes of responsibility and of its lack.

We are too close to tell what will be the ultimate judgment as to how our adolescent young person has been served by the economic and social upheaval of the last few years. Undoubtedly the more careful expenditure of money in the American home in the past two or three years has been in many ways very wholesome for children. The son of the family has often had to surrender his car to Dad. If he has joined a "frat," he has had to get a Saturday job to meet the extra obligations. For the daughter, it has often meant no car, fewer evening dresses, and careful budgeting to stay in school. But this is only one side of the picture.

A young man, sixteen or eighteen years old, called at my neighbor's home. "Miss Blank (meaning me) is not at home," he said, holding one hand which seemed to be injured. "I am a student in her class

and I've had an auto accident and have hurt my hand pretty badly, I'm afraid. I need a little change to get home." My elderly friend was very much moved and, finding that she had no smaller change, gave him fifty cents. "Thank you," graciously replied the boy, "I'll return the money tomorrow." And that is the end of the story.

Fifteen-year-old Mary was on the school list for free lunches in a school very proud of its judicious handling of under-nourished children. In five weeks she had saved enough for a permanent wave.

Sixteen-year-old Rex came to the office of the principal at the opening of school in the second semester. It was obvious that he was painfully embarrassed. "Here are four dollars to help pay for my sisters' lunches. I earned a little during the vacation and I want to pay what I can on their lunches." The principal tried to be tactful. "Just as you say, Rex, but if your family needs that money you had better turn it over to them—and what about your own lunch?" "Oh," said Rex, "I never did eat lunch; never cared about it."

It is interesting to note that some workers with children feel that the children and their parents have been brought closer together and that sharing by friends and even neighbors is breaking down class barriers. One club leader remarked: "It is not so difficult to keep up with the Jones family. Economy is the style. There is less humiliation over being poor. We are more on a level."

Some club leaders feel that because there is less spending money, there is more inexpensive recreation and more home play. Others feel that there is a descent to less desirable commercial amusements (second-rate). One leader pointed out that in some instances the family becomes a closer knit unit, working together on the major problems of supplying the necessities of life, but that in others the family may break because the struggle overcomes them. Bitterness, hostility towards the rich, and an attitude of "what's the use?" may develop along with unhappiness and even hopelessness.

It is clear from these few quotations characteristic of many statements that two possible reactions are in evidence: unsocial and even antisocial attitudes, a lack of a sense of personal responsibility for one's obligations, or—increased responsibility and closer family ties. Much may doubtless be explained in the background of the individual family attitudes, traditions, and behavior; much in terms of the treatment which is accorded the family and youth by teacher, social case worker, and club leader. Economic and social situations intensify and condition the personal reactions to individual experiences.

The other day a group of college students were talking about themselves. They agreed with the statements one of their number made.

The trouble with young people today is that we have too many interests. We belong to too many organizations, committees, and clubs. We think of all the things we have to do for each and we are overwhelmed. We see them all at once, not in any sequence, and consequently, we just don't do any of them.

Another one said:

What we need is to study the things we do and discard those with least value. There are a lot of organizations we belong to that could easily be put out of existence and we would be better off. They don't accomplish anything except to keep us busy, and we might well use that time and energy to better advantage.

One girl remarked as follows:

A group of us did sit down the other day and go over all our activities and decide that there were a lot of them we could do without. The trouble with us is that we don't know what we want. We don't know where we are going. When we try to talk, if there are only two or three of us, we really feel the discussion is worth while, but discussions in groups are too superficial. We get nowhere.

It seems evident that we need a new interpretation of leadership and a restatement of the qualifications of the

leaders. We need what might be called a "diffused" leadership rather than a "concentrated" leadership. We need to understand it not in terms of a few outstanding, dominating persons directing many, but in terms of a participating and influencing, a give-and-take level of activity of the different persons in each group. New formulations of social, political, and economic policies will be effected largely in terms of group thinking and interchange of thought. Young people need to be "prepared" for active sharing in the community life of which they are so integral a part.

The community must prepare in some measure the setting for youth's activities by furnishing opportunities for leadership for older young people as they graduate from boys' and girls' clubs and from the playground. We have limited so largely the opportunities for leadership because we have seen it only in terms of the few Leaders, with a capital "L." As the boy and the girl grow up, they scorn "kid play." We have overlooked the great field of civic and political interests and the possibility of developing self-functioning civic units into which youth might graduate. Preparation for satisfying expenditure of leisure time on the part of the older adolescent might well be made in the "kid" group, and a "grown-up" future activity held out as a goal. A plan for civic units might well be made city-wide and not be limited to any economic group. It is at least worth serious consideration since we have made so little real use of citizenship among our native-born boys and girls. I can imagine a community ceremony with which boys and girls might be inducted into citizenship. We recall the colorful day of the Roman youth when he achieved his citizenship. Becoming a *Roman* was a never-to-be-forgotten occasion. It was a proud moment!

During the period following the war, when Americanization programs were being so widely heralded, some of our

cities conducted stirring pageants and celebrations with which the newly made citizens of foreign birth received their final papers and became "Americans." It was a red letter day which they would never forget nor would even the most sluggish native-born citizen who witnessed it.

In both our cities and little towns, the boy and the girl graduate from high school and are forgotten. They lack direction and the feeling that the community has a place for them. As we approach a thirty-hour week, it becomes increasingly evident that only by a comprehensive plan that considers the wants of young people, that studies social and economic situations, that evaluates the community program in relation to increasing the participation of youth in civic affairs, shall we find the answer to the question of the moment, "How prepare for leisure?"



## CULTURE TRAITS OF THE TIBETANS\*

DORRIS E. SHELTON

*Redondo Beach, California*

TIBET is popularly called the "Roof of the World," because of its peculiar geographic conditions, and the fact that the highest altitude in the world is found here. The altitude ranges from 9,000 feet to over 29,000 feet. It is a country full of mountains, which protect, yet hinder the people who live there from leaving, and which stand guard like sentinels to keep those on the outside from invading this last individual country. It seems as if they have endeavored to keep for the world at least a small portion of mystery and charm, which makes life fascinating; so this small country located to the west of China and north of India has gained for itself the name of "The Land of Mystery." It holds today in its heart many bits of beauty, wisdom, and philosophy that the world has not yet shared. Since nature has so willingly helped the Tibetans guard these treasures, it will be a long time before all of their secrets are shared by the rest of the human race.

From the border of Tibet to the nearest railroad, fifty days must be spent on horseback, riding from dawn to dark. There is still a six-day journey before arrival at the coast of China, from which it is then comparatively easy to reach the rest of the world.

Some have advanced the theory that the Garden of Eden might have been located in Tibet, for the climate in the valleys is an indication of such a conclusion, as every vegetable and fruit can be cultivated with very little effort.

\* Editorial note: This article is based upon Miss Shelton's first-hand experiences in Tibet.

The land is divided between the people who are agriculturists and live in the valleys and those who are the shepherds of the flocks and herds and dwell on the mountainsides, following the melting snow line up in the spring with their animals and coming back into the valleys as winter forces them down. The high, majestic, snow-capped mountains, the narrow, green valleys, and the swift rivers make up an interesting mosaic pattern, which is both rugged and beautiful.

The people who dwell in this strange, unknown country are just as individual and attractive and as full of mystery as is the land itself. Straight-forward, frank, and sincere in their attitudes toward life, they are a people who love or hate a person the first time they see him. If they love him, they will do anything for him and willingly share what they possess with him, but if they hate him, they will not pretend to endure him for even a short while, but will leave him and stay away as far as possible. They believe they can see the color of a person's heart in his eyes and face, and they love him because his heart is white. The Tibetans believe each person paints his own heart the color he chooses—for no one else can touch his heart but himself. Consequently, if he lives in bitterness and selfishness, it is just as if he had dipped his brush of life in black and painted his heart, for it becomes dark from mean motives, or it is white if he lives with motives that are kind and unselfish. Not for his face or clothes, for they are considered of little or no importance, is a person loved, but for what he is.

The following bit of philosophy colors their entire life—"unless a person's heart is in his hands, his work will be only half done," and "unless his heart is in the words he speaks, it is best not to speak." Unafraid of reality, they face life practically unarmed against disease and hard-

ships. They are a race who love to sing, and find the strength for endurance in living. No one could ever say that a Tibetan leads a mere existence.

Their own story of how they came to be is that a she-devil of the mountains mated with a monkey, and perforce the children had tails, but the Great Compassionate Spirit<sup>1</sup> of the mountain gave unto them some magical grain, and as a result of eating this their tails dropped off, they lost their hair, began to talk, and so became men. They clothed themselves in leaves and lived in the mountains. From the father the Tibetans believe they got their love for religion and the kinder things of life, and from the mother, their cruelty and ruthlessness. As so little is known of their real origin, most travelers credit them with belonging to the Mongolian race. The Tibetans resent this. True, many of them are a mixture, as the Chinese leave their trace of blood plainly wherever they go, and the caravans of traders which for hundreds of years have come down into Tibet from Persia, from Arabia, from China, and from India, all have left a taint; but if they are judged by the full-blooded Tibetan who is uncontaminated by alien blood, they look like the Arabs, live as they do, ride, hunt, and have all of the mental and physical characteristics of those wild tribes on the Arabian side and not of those on the south or east. Perhaps one might imagine that a tribe of Arabs fleeing from the fierce old Jews of ancient Jewry, seeking sanctuary, fled over the mountains and settled in Tibet, kept going farther inland hunting more fertile fields and warmer valleys for their flocks and herds, and so became the shepherd kings, each having his own tribe or clan. Clans like these still exist today, closely bound together with strong group loyalty.

<sup>1</sup> This great spirit is Shenrezik, or the incarnation of the present Dalai Lama. He is one of the three gods of the Tibetan Triumvirate or of Buddha's threefold character.

Their first rulers were fierce shepherd kings who ruled as they desired and punished as they pleased, making their own laws, many of which exist today, and somewhat resemble ancient English or Scottish laws. Then the country drifted gradually under the rule of priest kings because the priests were the educated group. In fact, this country at the present time is one of the few theocracies in the world. During a certain period the Chinese government succeeded in conquering parts of Tibet and demanded from them a tribute to the Chinese Emperor, which they had to take by caravan to Peking. The conquerors also demanded the right to station troops throughout different sections of the country, and took upon themselves the administration of laws and punishments. This situation did not prove very satisfactory nor did it last; for the Tibetans, through continuous revolts, finally drove them out of most of the country, and Tibet now considers herself practically an independent country. It is easy, however, to see the taint of Chinese blood among the people and some cultural changes due to Chinese influence.

The first real contact with the outside world came during the reign of Tibet's first great king, Srongtsan Gambo, of whose deeds there is a written record. At one time he fought and won in a battle with China, and demanded as his tribute a Chinese princess for his wife. She came to Tibet and brought to her semibarbaric, sheepskin-clothed husband soft silks and tea, the demand for which grew as time went on, building up a profession of trading. This same king married a woman from Nepal, who brought a breath of culture from over India way. Then this king, who had married twice in order to help his country, as he thought, finally married a Tibetan wife to make life bearable.

The two alien wives, who were devout Buddhists, soon encouraged missionaries who came from India, sent by a

king in India who was a very devout follower of Buddha. As the Buddhist literature was scattered throughout the country, the religion of the people became thoroughly saturated with Buddhistic ideals, and a written language came into being, based on the Sanskrit. So today we find Buddhistic ideals and literature throughout the whole country. Most of their books deal with religion and the life and powers of Buddha. There are a few books on medicine, some on their ideas of geography, and some of folk tales. Most of the writing is done by hand by the priests in the Lamaseries. Among the most interesting things they have in their literature are the witty and philosophical proverbs. The following are some of the best ones:

From the works of a former life and from heaven's law there is no escape; they follow forever.

It is better to be a subject in your own country than a king in any other.

A man's lawsuit is like a rock, it never grows old; a woman's quarrel, like a prayer-flagstaff, it never wears out.

I took a horse clear to Lassa without making his back sore, while the cow downstairs lost the skin off her tail.

Talk is like bubbles; work is like gold nuggets.

The hard place to climb is at the top of the ladder; a poor place to sit down is at its foot.

If there is hard work, he is there; if there is worship, he must be there. Happy is the place where resides the man who is not afraid of his share.

Happiness is like rabbits' horns, scarce and hard to find. Sorrow, like the rings of an antelope's horns, can be found without hunting.

The man who agrees with everyone and has no opinion of his own is like a horse who, with a bridle, is driven in every direction.

The golden eagle flying high, you are not able to bind, and great water running swift you are not able to dam.

Either going up or down a ladder is an evil thing if you are pushed.

Be the work good or bad, we cannot tell what may be said of it, nor how far its result may spread.



If he eats too much, a tiger will choke even on man's meat. If he flies too far, even the vulture will fall.

If you haven't eaten the sour, you do not appreciate the sweet; if you haven't suffered, you do not appreciate freedom from pain.

A first-class man dies on the top of the pass, his armor all on; he is eaten by vultures and received by gods and goddesses. His own heart leads the way. The second-class man dies in his bed, surrounded by friends and relatives; his body is burned and he is received by lamas and his spirit led to happiness. The third-class man dies at home in the street, his mouth filled with dust, and he is eaten by dogs, led into the other life by a crow, and lives in endless misery.

A white Tibetan snow cock does not hatch blackbirds.

You needn't speak, your reputation is wide; you needn't write, your deeds no man can hide.

As you go forth to fight, be in the front; as you return, be the last to come.

These three things are hard to explain: a man suffering who has done no wrong; a tree with no crime cut down in the forest; a big river which has committed no evil and the bridge falling down.

The Tibetans are an artistic race, although what they do is not finely finished. They make all sorts of things out of iron, copper, white brass, gold, and silver and they also have artists in leather work and painting.

If it were possible to say what one single factor outside of religion plays the most important rôle in a Tibetan's life, one could easily say custom, for custom means more than any law and is the power that ultimately decides how a thing shall be done.

There are three types of marriage carried on in Tibet today. They are monogamy, polygamy, and polyandry. As Tibetans have always practiced these three, custom has worked out very successfully the problems that might be involved, and family life in Tibet is a happy affair, even though complicated.

Death and burial are still treated as they have always been treated through the ages. Tibetans do not like burial

in the earth; so they feed their dead to vultures, throw them into the river, or burn them. They believe that the sooner a body is completely destroyed, the sooner the soul can live again. Some of the other superstitions which they have are most interesting. One is the fear they have of blue-eyed people, who, they believe, can see six feet into the ground. Since they bury a great many of their treasures in the earth, they consider a blue-eyed person rather a menace; the only hope they have of saving their treasure is to say a prayer and go sit on the hiding place, hoping that the person cannot see through them.

Another custom that they have is that of drinking hot melted butter for the curing of all ills. If, however, they do not get better, they go to a priest, who rolls a pill out of mud and blesses it, and the patient swallows it. If still ill, the patient then goes to the higher priest of the district, who writes a message to the evil spirit who they think is causing the illness. Then the patient rolls the paper, which is usually about two feet long and five inches wide, into a ball and endeavors to put it down his throat. When the paper gets into the stomach the spirit is supposed to unroll it, heed its message, and go away leaving the patient on the road to recovery. The spirit is not usually very obedient and, if the patient lives, it is in spite of his doctoring, instead of by virtue of it.

Too many baths and too much water are not considered very healthful for a Tibetan, so they have no bathtubs. However, they do go several times a year to the hot springs and bathe thoroughly. After the bath, they take a large piece of butter and grease themselves all over, in order to make the bath last longer and enable the dirt to slide off.

The idea of an entire nation for which to fight and die is still an alien idea to the Tibetan, largely because of geographic conditions. He has known nothing but his clan,

his village, his home, his head man, his priests, and his friends, to whom his sense of loyalty is amazing. It is so true, so unwavering, and so sacrificial in quality, that if all Tibet is ever closely linked together this loyalty may grow to include the entire country and become a breathtaking patriotism.

This high plateau country, considered by most of the world to be backward, uncivilized, and uneducated, because the world is ignorant of the achievements of the Tibetan race, will soon be finding her "place in the sun." Though they are not particularly desirous of joining the rest of the world in their march of progress and civilization, it will not be long before it becomes evident that they can no longer keep their isolated position. The problems that face Tibet are growing more numerous and complicated as outside contacts are gradually increased. Just what this may mean to this race of childlike, courageous people, or what effect it will have, no one can tell. They fear this inevitable fate and the changes that will be necessary. Perhaps they fear most the sham and insincerity which comes with the hurry and pretense of civilization. Though they are not rich in modern conveniences or scientific advantages, they have much by which the people of other countries could be enriched, such as their sincerity, loyalty, reverence, courage, appreciation of beauty, unselfishness, and idealistic philosophy of life. An attitude of appreciation and sharing among all races must become a fact before there can be understanding, which is the only true foundation upon which world friendship and world peace can be built.

## THE "TRAMPING" MOVEMENT IN CENTRAL EUROPE

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

*Centenary Junior College*

THE WORDS "tramping" and "tramp" are now commonly used in the Czechoslovak language and designate persons spending their free time living in the primitive conditions of nature. Our nearest English equivalent is the term "roughing it."

The movement originated immediately after the World War. The first proponents were individuals who had met disappointment and had grown tired in their social environment. Their example was imitated by others, and eventually the beautiful meadows of Central Europe, and especially of Czechoslovakia—with which country the author is best acquainted—were covered each week-end by tents, wherein these dissatisfied ones spent every leave of absence. The tents have been replaced by primitive cabins, and today we find thousands of them throughout the Czechoslovak countryside (and Central Europe), forming, in many cases, large settlements. In these flourish the type of behavior and social relations characteristic of "tramps."

The most important feature of these settlements is the fact that the members devote their time to whatever tasks they assign themselves or whatever pleasures they deign to follow. Various sports are the favorite diversions. Evenings are usually spent in singing and story-telling around camp fires.

The social importance of the movement is augmented by the fact that Czechoslovakia resounds with numerous popular songs, either composed by the "tramps" or those

who imitate this particular type of music. The lyrical lines generally embody longing for mother, sweetheart, or youth, extol the virtues of the "tramping" life, and exalt the value of comradeship. Melodies are simple, tempo is slow, and the repetition of theme is marked. These characteristics have been adapted to the need of having the songs memorized by the group around the camp fire; furthermore, the use of the most simple instruments—such as guitars—requires simplicity of melody.

Below is an example of a typical "tramp" song. A free translation of the contents runs somewhat as follows:

One has only one soul in this world  
The most faithful one which is known  
She satisfies you with a world, heals the heart  
And waits only for one's call:  
Mother dear, Mother, how I should like  
To weep with you for a moment.  
Should you be with me now, Mother,  
You would pet at my head;  
Mother dear, Mother, how I should like  
To weep with you for a moment.  
My golden Mother, your eternal memory  
Will warm my heart forever.

Social relations are idealized in the magic word of "Kamarád" (from the famous German "Kamerad"), which was adopted from the trenches of the war-time, and transferred here. Songs are dedicated to the word, which has now become enveloped in an aura of mystical meaning. It denotes a sharing of sorrows and joys by those eager and willing to sacrifice in the name of friendship.

Most of the "tramps" are young people, composed for the most part of laborers and city clerks, who spent their daily lives in the outskirts of large cities.

If we analyze the general sociological causes of the movement, we are confronted with a reaction against the



crises of our postwar social conditions. The hysteria of the war period, the misery and drudgery of those who still suffer from the effects of war, the disorganization of present world conditions in so many vital respects—all are very conducive to the creation of this “back-to-nature” movement, which has in the past often followed great upheavals in history. In addition, it is the reaction against the constant mechanization of daily life. The “tramping” movement seeks to recapture the vanishing aspects of the agrarian era; it is a counter-reaction to the excessive progress of modern civilization.

A more detailed analysis shows that the movement is based mainly on political, economic, and social causes.

Nationalistic enthusiasm and idealism found its culmination during and immediately after the war, when the Czechoslovak Republic was formed. The present generation is distinctly disappointed and has experienced a reactionary slump in its idealism. The revolutionary days, the days of promises and ambitions are gone. The youth was told that a paradise would be created as soon as an independent republic was established, and democracy put into practice. Reality, now, does not correspond to these glowing promises. Hundreds of thousands are unemployed; politics receives more attention and preference than the nation, which is secondary in everybody's consideration; favoritism dominates administrative life; military service discourages any enthusiasm in the service of the country. Critical skepticism leads the youth away from participation or interest in public life. Consolation is found in the simple aspects of “tramping” life, which requires no thought of the complexities of politics.

From the economic viewpoint, economic forces have become identified with mechanized civilization. Young people must spend their time in factories performing repe-

titious tasks. Where are those fairy-tale-like and idealistic times when an apprentice toured the world? Even though the young man is trained in a highly specialized profession, often he is unable to find a position and must make his living by performing some inferior tasks. Most of these young men must, therefore, look with uncertainty and fear upon their graduation from a training institution. Formerly each student counted the days until the time when he would graduate; the world was waiting for him! Today the world has no use for him; and if any job be found, it is well-nigh impossible to find a more satisfactory one. The will of one so treated becomes paralyzed; his feelings grow numb, and the "tramping" provides an escape from harsh realities.

The general economic situation, resulting in insufficient income, uncertainty of employment, and other factors, makes it impossible or very difficult for young people to found families. The lack of suitable houses and apartments in the postwar years of Czechoslovakia has been one of the most serious social problems. The family circle, in which the young man or woman is forced to live, established by his parents, has no attraction for a member of the labor class.<sup>1</sup> Laborers must depend on their own resources. The father transmits almost no property to his children, and he is unable to help in the problem of finding better employment. Away from home, then! The "tramping" releases the Czechoslovak boy and girl from their oppressive atmosphere.

The hand of mechanized civilization grasped and held even the smallest cities of Central Europe after the World

<sup>1</sup> Where a bourgeois family is concerned, the situation is somewhat different. The authority of the father is based then on economic resources which he controls. The offspring of such families can plan consideration for the advantages of eventual inheritance or dowry. Article: "The Sociological Basis of the 'Tramping' Movement in Central Europe." A. Vitásek, "Návrh společenských podmínek trampského hnutí," in *Náš Doba*, Vol. 40, No. 3, December, 1932, pp. 152-157.

War. The streets are now crowded with automobiles; people walk more quickly; motion pictures, barrooms, directions, organizations, traffic-policemen—all the accompanying paraphernalia of our modern civilization has made its appearance. The formerly vigorous associations and social groups of students and laborers in the cities are disintegrating. Young people are not longer asked to organize theaters, dances, and social gatherings; that phase of social life is taken care of by technically organized means. Wherein may latent initiative be developed? What can be accomplished with leisure time when the movies are over? Where may the beauty and luxury of the movies be found in the dreary grind of daily life?

In addition, there is the general passivity of the environment. Thousands of the people attend a football game, and only twenty-two people play in such a game. What is to be gained by forming orchestras when the radio brings the performances of the best Prague symphonies to the home?

Socially, the young generation lacks the real beauty which incites the aesthetic joys and gentleness that normally belong to every growing generation. From the fateful war days, which brought thousands of wounds, poverty, hunger, moral and material miseries, has grown a generation which does not know what joyful days of childhood are. The father fought in war; the mother worked in a munitions factory; and the children waited hours for a few potatoes or some other scant food. I remember those endless hours of waiting in rain, sunshine, and blizzard for a piece of stale bread. In consequence of the enforced industry of the parents the children had the daily tasks of grown-ups. If that generation did not know plays and songs and joys of youth, if that generation is prematurely old, can it be blamed for wanting to be childlike again, now,

when it has reached adult days? The war period offered nothing beautiful. Romanticism and children's loves were unknown to the present ranks of the "tramps." They are seeking for the days of the youth now!

After a decade, the boys and girls of the postwar period have reached the age of manhood and womanhood. But the social environment denies the rights granted to other generations—the right to live, love, found a family, and the right of earning their support. Is there not something desperately pathetic about it?

In summary, the "tramping" movement is a manifestation of our social ferment and a search for the values denied to the postwar generation. It grows out of the economic pressure of our life—such as unemployment, the lack of living quarters, uncertainty of employment—the lack of free and creative possibilities in the social environment, the sense of subordination and dependence upon the stronger economic class, critical skepticism in regard to everything which uses such words as "nation," "democracy," "ideal," "state," the loss of faith in idealistic movements, and the search for the days when the children believed in fairy-tales.

In truth, the movement is a flight from the realities of the world. It is a frank acknowledgement of the defeat of the ambitions of the generation which is paying for the Great War.

## TYPES OF JUNIOR COLLEGE LEADERS

CHARLES B. SPAULDING

*Long Beach, California*

THE LEADERS studied were selected by means of the vote of a representative group of 250 students of the Long Beach Junior College.<sup>1</sup> The sixteen leaders receiving the largest number of votes were then observed at their customary activities on the campus. Informal contacts were made whenever possible, and interviews were held. Judgments of faculty members and of fellow students regarding each leader were also collected. These case data were then analyzed for causes of student leadership.

The case studies made of sixteen contemporary student leaders in the Long Beach Junior College during the school year of 1932-33 suggested five possible types of student leaders. These types are not put forward as a complete classification of all student leaders, for further cases would undoubtedly reveal other types. It is believed, however, that they are useful generalizations for the further understanding of student leadership in similar situations.<sup>2</sup>

Assuming a sufficient amount of innate ability, the evolution of each of the leaders proceeded in general as follows: Out of social experiences came attitudes which motivated a program of activities. The activities, in turn, resulted in a set of moving relationships with other members of the student society, through the means of which

<sup>1</sup> The Long Beach Junior College (California) is a two year institution with approximately 1,500 students. The college group is composed almost entirely of native American students of the Caucasian races. The student turnover amounts to over 50 per cent annually.

<sup>2</sup> Three of the less popular leaders studied are not included in the classification suggested, for they were isolated cases. No generalized type was set up unless at least two students could be classed under it.



positive influence was exerted by the leaders over others. Each leader exhibited a certain type of motivation which produced a series of activities and resulted in a set of moving relationships with other students.

The five classes of student leaders suggested are based on the larger outlines of this whole developmental process. These types may be called: the social climber, the intellectual success, the good-fellow, the big athlete, and the athletic-activity type. Further cases might possibly reveal that the last two types could be combined.

*The social climber.* The largest class of leaders in point of numbers might be called social climbers. A leader of this type was characterized by a definitely rationalized motivation and a diversified program of activities. Either before he came to junior college or afterward, he went through a set of experiences which caused him to rationalize a desire for leadership in the junior college. Various combinations of social experiences entered into the formation of this definite desire to "be somebody," "to get somewhere," or "to get into things."<sup>3</sup> This ambition led the student to seek a varied program of social activities in the college. He gained acquaintances and gathered prestige through this wide-spread activity program, but he did not become very solidly incorporated into any small group. He might have a small group of friends, but he tended to be cosmopolitan in most of his dealings. He acquired a social following because of his prestige, and executive power through election to important school positions, such as student-body offices, or the presidencies of the men's and women's student associations. This type of leader was likely to have had at least a small amount of leadership experience before coming to the junior college.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chas. B. Spaulding, *A Study of Contemporary Student Leaders in Long Beach Junior College*. (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1933), Chapter VI.

*The intellectual success.* The leaders in the second general class may be called intellectual successes. Motivation for these students came from the discovery of an intellectual activity, such as writing or debate, from which pleasure and status were derived. This interest might have begun to develop long before the student came to junior college. If it continued to dominate the leader's interests, or if activities originally developed through success in that line continued, the fact that the interest had been originally discovered before junior college was ignored in classification. Success in the activities prompted by this interest usually led to acquaintance with other leaders, a spreading out into a few other activities, and an acquisition of important positions. This type of leader continued, however, to have relatively few associations with small groups and to be incorporated into the feelings of those groups to a limited extent only. Even the holding of a club office did not mean complete incorporation into the group. Leadership came largely as a result of prestige, except within a very limited group of students who were interested in the same line of activity as was the leader, or as prestige transferred into executive authority. Very little rationalized motivation appeared in the leaders of this type.

*The good-fellow.* The name given to this class of leaders suggests the motivation. There were a few leaders whose chief motivation seemed to come from a desire to be with other people. This urge led them to engage in a considerably diversified program of activities, through which they came in contact with kindred spirits. They became quite solidly incorporated into a circle of leaders who represented the leadership of a number of different activities in which all participated. Other activities entered into their programs, as a group or singly, as they became aware of other

avenues of social participation. A rather intimate contact with a number of groups was thus maintained, and a considerable amount of direct social leadership in small functioning groups was established. Leaders of this type acquired considerable prestige because of their numerous activities and intimate knowledge of school affairs. They showed a moderate tendency to acquire important school positions.<sup>4</sup>

*The big athlete and the athletic-activity type.* The two types of leaders falling in these two classes were very closely allied, and further cases might reveal that they were essentially the same. There were, however, certain differences which appeared to be fundamental. The big athlete was the leader who was motivated primarily by an interest in athletics. He achieved recognition through athletic successes and was incorporated closely into a group of athletic fellows. If he branched out into other activity at all he did so as a part of the athletic crowd. He had no rationalized ambitions for leadership except to "make the team." He was a leader of athletes both in athletics and in informal social activities; and because of his athletic prowess and his influence over his fellows, he acquired prestige in the larger student group.

The athletic-activity type was also interested in athletics, but he showed a desire for recognition in other conventional channels. He was incorporated into an athletic crowd but was not an outstanding leader in that crowd. He, therefore, sought recognition in other ways. He entered a few other activities; and, while he continually showed his partisanship for athletic interests, he sought other honors and offices and eventually graduated into positions of importance in the school. His athletic achievements served

<sup>4</sup> The two students who were placed in this class were girls, but former experiences of the investigator in this same junior college leads him to believe that this is not a classification based on sex differences.

to bolster up his importance in other activities. He might become the representative of the athletic crowd, but he was not likely to be its leader. He did have the direct influence over athletic fellows that characterized the big athlete, but he was more likely to acquire some official executive functions. He was, on the whole, a combination of the big athlete and the good-fellow or the social climber.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> When this list of five types of leadership is compared with the three-fold classification of mental, social, and executive leadership given by E. S. Bogardus in his *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (New York: the Century Company, 1931) Chap. XII, it may be observed that the second in our list might be classed as "mental," the first and third as "social," while the fourth and fifth do not fit well into the three-fold classifications.

## MEXICAN REPATRIATES

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

*University of Southern California*

IN THIS introductory note concerning the repatriation of Mexican immigrants it is planned merely to set forth in a few paragraphs some of the major problems that will require considerable investigation, and to suggest certain vital questions. The following definition of a *repatriado* may be posited. A *repatriado* is a person who, having left his country to live a number of years in another country, returns to his own country to reside and to assume the duties of citizenship.

While in Mexico City this past summer the writer secured from the Office of Social Statistics through the courtesy of Lic. Ramon Beteta the following figures concerning *repatriados*.<sup>1</sup> Table I gives the data for three years and four months, from January 1, 1930, to April 30, 1933 inclusive. The high month was November, 1931, flanked strongly by October and December of the same year. The total number of repatriates for the period of three years and three months was 290,051, which means that by the present writing the total number of Mexican *repatriados* since January 1, 1930 has passed the 300,000 mark. This is a large number of persons to be reabsorbed into Mexico in a depression period.

<sup>1</sup> According to Señor Beteta *repatriados* are regarded in Mexico as the Mexicans who have lived in a foreign country and have returned to the Republic "for the purpose of settling down, regardless of whether they came back of their own accord or were deported by foreign authorities."



TABLE I

MEXICAN *Repatriados*

| 1930      | Nos.  | 1931 | Nos.   | 1932 | Nos.  | 1933 | Nos. |
|-----------|-------|------|--------|------|-------|------|------|
| January   | 3762  | —    | 6627   | —    | 9394  | —    | 3216 |
| February  | 3446  | —    | 6216   | —    | 6501  | —    | 3291 |
| March     | 3367  | —    | 7719   | —    | 6151  | —    | 3278 |
| April     | 3817  | —    | 7448   | —    | 6229  | —    | 5058 |
| May       | 3719  | —    | 7616   | —    | 8594  |      |      |
| June      | 5102  | —    | 9959   | —    | 7927  |      |      |
| July      | 5662  | —    | 8465   | —    | 8266  |      |      |
| August    | 5522  | —    | 8624   | —    | 6291  |      |      |
| September | 6957  | —    | 9398   | —    | 4302  |      |      |
| October   | 8610  | —    | 17092  | —    | 5368  |      |      |
| November  | 9679  | —    | 21055  | —    | 5686  |      |      |
| December  | 9927  | —    | 14742  | —    | 5939  |      |      |
| TOTALS    | 69570 | —    | 124991 | —    | 80647 |      |      |

Where do the *repatriados* go in Mexico? The *repatriados* have returned to their native villages and towns, to the large cities, and to the repatriation colonies established by the government. While it is evident that by far the largest percentage have gone back to their native communities and only a small percentage to the large cities and to the repatriation colonies, it is not clear what each of these percentages is.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps we may estimate that about 80 per cent have returned to the villages; 15 per cent to the large cities; and 5 per cent to the repatriation centers.

Those who have returned to the villages have been received into their respective family groups freely according to the Mexican custom. Shelter and food have been shared with the returning relatives even though no work or additional food was immediately available.

Others have struck out for the larger cities and sought work under metropolitan conditions. A *repatriado* who

<sup>2</sup> According to interview materials secured from a Mexican official early in 1933 by Marion Flad, University of Southern California, approximately 85 per cent of the repatriates return to the villages and repatriation centers, and 15 per cent to the large cities.

had lived fourteen years in the United States and who this past summer was working temporarily as a painter on the National Theater in Mexico City (now nearing completion after the elapse of many years since the foundation was begun) said to the writer: "I have made a terrible mistake. I should have stayed in the United States. Opportunities here (Mexico City) are fewer than in the United States." Only the most resourceful are able to get readjusted in the large cities within a reasonable length of time.

Still other *repatriados* have gone to the large government repatriation centers (a total of about 25,000 was reported to be in the two largest centers in July, 1933). Preliminary reports indicate that these centers have not yet succeeded. They involve many changes in ways of living that the *repatriados* can make only with the greatest difficulty. Large-scale communal establishments call for habits and culture patterns different from those of the small-scale camps to which Mexicans have become accustomed in the United States.<sup>3</sup>

Why do some *repatriados* succeed in Mexico and others fail? Is adjustment purely a matter of "luck," or can some principle or rule be discovered? What effect does advancement up the economic and cultural scale in the United States have upon the returned repatriate? Does education and cultural advancement hinder or help adjustment in Mexico?

Although the repatriates are welcomed by their village relatives yet the more advanced quickly grow restless. Not being able to transform their native villages they fall back into the old ways, they grow disappointed, and scornful. If they be small in number the "falling back" process oc-

<sup>3</sup> Manuel Gamio points out a number of factors which explain the failure of the early repatriation enterprises in Mexico (See his *Mexican Immigration to the United States*, pp. 235 ff.).

curs without much delay; but if their numbers be large they form a kind of recalcitrant minority. A conflict ensues with the result that the repatriated minority are called "gringos" because of their superior airs and American ways.<sup>4</sup>

For this reason there arises at times a natural antagonism which is often even unconscious between the characters, automatic attitudes, and tendencies of the reactionary majority and the progressive minority of those who are being repatriated, who are charged with being "Yankified" innovators, Masons or pagans, destroyers of the old customs, freakish, intruders, etc.<sup>5</sup>

The conflict continues until the minority succumbs or some of its leaders go to the large cities, only to find themselves strangers there, although some are able, by their wits, to get ahead.

The picture of the returned Mexican immigrant operating a big tractor in his home community is largely buncombe. Here and there he is able in a minor way to bring about changes in the culture traits of his fellow townsmen or villagers. The blue overall is slowly superseding the more picturesque white cotton suit, but more fundamental changes are coming very slowly. Sometimes the blue denim is worn over "the regulation Mexican white shirt and pajama trousers."<sup>6</sup>

In Arañdas, Jalisco, Dr. Paul S. Taylor was impressed more "by the relatively small degree of change in the attitudes and ways of living of the returned emigrants than by the material change which experience in the United States sometimes produced in the economic conditions of individuals."<sup>7</sup> The repatriates easily "slip back into the

<sup>4</sup> Emma R. Stevenson, *Survey*, LXVI: 176.

<sup>5</sup> Manuel Gamio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States*, p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> Osgood Hardy, "Los Repatriados," *Pomona College Magazine*, XXI: 73.

<sup>7</sup> *A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community, Arañdas in Jalisco, Mexico*, p. 55.

old ways" after the clothes and money they have brought with them are worn out. However, they find it hard to work for small wages after having received larger ones in the United States. The natives are unwilling to admit the superiority of the repatriates.<sup>8</sup>

Do the various members of a returned emigrant's family adjust themselves with similar ease or difficulty in Mexico? Clearly, no. The father seems to have less difficulty than does the mother or the children, and the younger children less than the older ones. The father has been more accustomed to migration and less attached to any one particular spot in the United States. The younger children have not yet become "American" in any sense. The older children, however, have learned English, acquired American ways, made American friends; many protest against returning to Mexico. They are more American than Mexican. Although their hopes and ambitions may have been dimmed in the United States, still this country is home. Despite the depression and the lack of opportunities to work, the culture level here is higher than in the Mexican village to which they return. Their difficulties are twofold: they do not want to leave their friends in the United States, and they do not feel at home on the culture level of the village life in Mexico.

The mother is in a dilemma. She wants to go back with her husband to Mexico, but does not want to desert her older children who beg to remain in the United States. She faces a divided family. She is pulled strongly in two different ways at the same time.

The repatriation movement presumes that extensive agrarian progress has been made in Mexico and that land with water is available. To be sure there is plenty of land but not with water to any great extent. Pending the

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

development of agrarian opportunities the outlook for the *repatriados* is limited.

Many Mexican immigrants are returning to Mexico under a sense of pressure. They fear that all welfare aid will be withdrawn if they do not accept the offer to help them out of our country. In fact, some of them report that they are told by relief officials that if they do not accept the offer to take them to the Border no further welfare aid will be given them and that their record will be closed with the notation, "Failed to coöperate." Rumor becomes exaggerated as it passes from mouth to mouth. It takes only an insinuation from a welfare official in the United States to create widespread fear among Mexican immigrants.

The plan of shipping Mexican immigrants to the Border instead of giving them welfare aid has an important financial aspect. Figures secured by James C. Gilbert show that the cost of returning 9,000 Mexicans to the Border from Los Angeles was about \$155,000, whereas the welfare cost of taking care of the same number for one year was approximately \$800,000.<sup>9</sup>

Questions are being raised concerning the justice of our Mexican immigration procedure. In times of prosperity Mexican immigrants have been "invited" by large scale employing concerns to come to the United States. They have come, furnishing an alleged "cheap labor" supply. In times of depression when they are no longer an economic asset but a liability, they are sent back to their native communities "penniless—a burden on those already poor." It is not surprising, therefore, that thinking Mexican leaders are inquiring about the justice of such a procedure. Are Mexican immigrants to be sent for again

<sup>9</sup> From data being gathered for a master of arts thesis by James C. Gilbert of the University of Southern California, who is now in Mexico, studying the problem in a first-hand way.



when prosperous times return, to be treated as "cheap labor," and then again to be returned penniless to poverty-laden relatives? Are industry and agriculture under any obligations to neighbors whom they bring into our country under promises of work, when the latter are stranded here in a time of depression? If these people, by virtue of seasonal labor situations, of migratory labor conditions, of special urges by high-pressure American salesmen to buy on the installment plan, are unable to save, is anything due them by way of protection in form of insurance? Is the obligation to them met simply by paying their transportation expenses to the Border or "home" especially when that home is one with which they have lost touch and which may already be overburdened with poverty? These are a few of the questions raised by those who wish to see justice done in the relations between Mexico and the United States.

What can be done in times of lull in Mexican immigration to plan against a repetition in the future of these repatriation problems? The proposal has been made that hereafter Mexican immigrants be brought in for fixed periods of time and that a percentage of their wages be kept under governmental supervision to be used to pay their transportation expenses and to provide each with a small sum of money to take home with him. This proposal sounds well and has arguments in its support, but the administrative details would easily defeat its successful operation.

The repatriation of Mexicans is so complicated that the process requires far more study than it has yet received. More first-hand data are needed concerning the changes in attitudes that the repatriates of different types undergo during their repatriation experiences. These changes in

attitudes will throw light on many problems ranging all the way from the nature of personality to fair play between nations.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Gamio, Manuel, *Mexican Immigration to the United States*, University of Chicago Press, 1930, Appendix VII, "Causes for the Failure of Repatriation and Colonization Enterprises and Suggestions by which this may be Avoided."
- Hardy, Osgood, "Los Repatriados," *Pomona College Magazine*, XXI: 71-73.
- McLean, Robert N., "Goodbye, Vincente!" *Survey Graphic*, LXVI: 182-83.
- "The Mexican Return," *Nation*, Aug. 24, 1932, 135: 165-66.
- Starr-Hunt, Jack, "The Mexican Who Went Home," *Los Angeles Times Sunday Magazine*, March 26, 1933, pp. 10, 20.
- Stevenson, Emma R., "The Emigrant Comes Home," *Survey Graphic*, LXVI: 175-77.
- Taylor, Paul S., *A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community, Arandas in Jalisco, Mexico*, University of California Press, 1933, section on "The Returned Immigrant," pp. 55-63.

## Book Notes

SCHOOL EDUCATIONS: *Sociological Sources of Values*. By DAVID SNEDDEN. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1930, pp. iv+187.

CULTURAL EDUCATIONS AND COMMON SENSE. By DAVID SNEDDEN. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. ix+324.

AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOLS AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS IN 1960. By DAVID SNEDDEN. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1931, pp. vi+122.

TOWARDS BETTER EDUCATIONS: *Some Critical Sociological Examinations of a Variety of Current Problems of Coordinating Purposes and Methods in Education*. By DAVID SNEDDEN. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1931, pp. viii+427.

It is the purpose to attempt here a brief sketch showing the trend of Dr. Snedden's social interpretation of education as set forth in these four books, and as it naturally groups itself under such aspects as his basic social ideas, conception of culture, of values, working definitions, educational aims, curricular notions, types of schools, and relation to the educational movement headed by Professor John Dewey.

Dr. Snedden, in the volume on *School Educations*, clearly recognizes that nearly all behavior patterns in all societies observable have been socially learned, and that this holds true especially for all our deep-seated, because anciently learned, coöperations. He perceives with equal clearness that unanimity in these folkways produces great stability of behavior in the developing child as compared with the "disorganization of motivations" which occurs when the environing society presents conflicting social pressures. *Culture*, in its adjective form "cultural," is "restricted to include only those accomplishments, interests, tastes, pursuits, or possessions which, having no visible vocational, health-conserving, moral, civic, or religious worths, are nevertheless attractive, are rich sources of satisfaction, of pleasure, of happiness, 'in themselves,' as we say 'on their own account.'" ( p. 71) This is, of course, the popular conception, but

it is deliberately adopted, as when, on a later page (162) Dr. Snedden, after pointing out that "sociologists, and especially the anthropologists among them, now quite generally use the term 'culture' to designate all those human achievements which are transmissible," finds it necessary on his own part to use the term to designate "the acquisitions actually made from the available social heritage" by persons or classes.

In the same work, a *social value* is defined as "something good for large numbers of human beings, either directly, (e.g., spelling, some things of simple hygiene) or, indirectly, through the powers of a few (e.g., dentistry, political leadership, etc.)." Such a definition is permissible for the schoolman's purposes, where consistently adhered to, as it is by Snedden, but we have to note that the strictly sociological conception includes both good and bad objects of social experience. Dr. Snedden's definition includes only the *positive* social values.

Upon the basis of the general sociological ideas indicated above, Snedden proceeds to define such terms as learning, teaching, schooling, and education, in a very clear and consistent manner. In this connection there emerges his never-failing deprecation of vague and general expressions. Thus he prefers the plural "learnings" to the ancient educational standby of "learning" in the singular and universal form. He finds that all human activities are learned, and so may be taught. In this one recognizes the influence of Lester F. Ward, to whom he makes approving reference on several occasions. With fine contempt for such "gems" as "the school is to take the child from where he is to where he ought to be," Snedden holds that the elementary school will find its purpose in the interpreting of those "personal and social *goods or values*" most in need of promotion by the school in order to make them function in the child's behavior. This is a matter of *learnings* of various kinds, and he, as always, is not only rich, but overrich, with concrete examples, from brushing the teeth to appreciation of poetry. He warns teachers, however, that in the process of incorporating so many specific learnings into the school curriculum, they are in danger of undervaluing "the enormous range of valuable learnings which still take place outside of schools." (p. 27) In fact the percentage of school learnings and school growths he finds to be so small that it hardly exceeds 2 per cent! (p. 36) There are non-learning growths and learning growths. The artificial stimulation of learning growths is *teaching*. *Education*

he finds to be "all customary or conscious, purposeful control of growth processes, and especially learning processes." (pp. 48 and 87) *Schools* are "*primary* agencies to assure certain kinds of learnings," (p. 88) and Herbert Spencer's query: "What knowledge is *most* worth?" is an increasingly important problem as civilization grows more complex.

In this first book of the four, Dr. Snedden begins a critical analysis of vocational education, which continues with accumulating force to the end. The prevocational efforts of the schools have been pronounced worthless by the leaders of industry and business. The single exception is stenography and typewriting, and even this is apparently waning. He looks for all vocational courses to be dropped from high schools, giving room for "some hundreds of kinds of full-time, full-competency training vocational schools for the trades, factory pursuits, selling and other vocations, farming, home-making, and the like, to supplement the dozen or more types of higher schools—of medicine, teaching, engineering, etc., now found in each state." (p. 89) But since "1000 adolescents will commonly provide from one to five workers" for any given trade, the number of such schools will be less than might be supposed. (p. 180)

In *Cultural Educations* Dr. Snedden restates his dissent from the sociological definition of culture as identical with the social inheritance, and again asserts that since any one of us can appropriate only a small portion of the group heritage "that assimilation is, then, the measure of his culture." (p. 3) Likewise any entire people's assimilation of its own minor portion of world culture "is the measure of its cultural achievements." Snedden distinguishes *vocational* culture, *civic* culture, *religious* culture, *physical* culture, *euthenic* culture, and *spiritual* culture. Of these only the last two call for explanation. *Euthenic* culture measures one's capacity for utilizing the multitudinous items of material culture in whose production he personally plays no part. *Spiritual* culture measures his participation in "a great variety of pleasure-giving means of utilization which seem to have no direct connection with vocation, moral behavior, civic behavior, religious fulfillment, health conservation, or euthenic utilization. . . . The pursuit of romance, beauty, knowledge, and friendship *for their own sakes*—and not as *means* to anything else—are included here in a rich domain to be called '*spiritual*' (not spiritual) culture." (p. 68)

This is clearly put and is really, as the author quoted holds, in accord with the popular conception of culture. Perhaps we can do



no better than adopt it, but it would seem to lead to the conclusion that *everything* a person of leisure, particularly one of the idle rich, learns and does, is cultural, since it is not vocational or civic or anything purposely utilitarian in any way. After all, "culture" in this narrower scholastic sense was originally rooted in class privilege and snobbery, and perhaps it always will be. But it seems too bad to tie school education up with it.

In this second book Professor Snedden explicitly rejects all "abstract singular" terms in order to escape vague and equivocal theorizing. "Instead of 'man' we purpose to talk about men—old men and young men, white men and black men, able-minded men and weak-minded men. Instead of 'the child' we shall try to refer often to young children and adolescent children, well-environed and poorly-environed children, dull children and bright children. We purpose even to do some violence to current usages by speaking much of 'educations,' of 'cultures,' and of 'moralities,' instead of employing the abstract singulars of these terms." (p. 24) This educational pluralism, if we may so call it, he steadily adheres to, as when he refuses to talk about "the aim of education," and insists on speaking of hundreds of kinds of "educations."

With respect to school aims and curricular matters this second volume further emphasizes the movement away from all vocational pretenses in public education, including the high school. He further shows that the same tendency is affecting the liberal arts college, whose "offerings are fully divorced from any preprofessional connections," their courses now being "designed to attract students, not to be prescriptions," and appealing to "interest in attainment of wide and lofty *appreciational* powers rather than in performance powers . . . ." (p. 229) As for secondary education in the older sense, the doctors "seem to be in profound disagreement, where they are not confusedly in the dark, as to what high schools are for, what they should seek to do, and how they should evaluate their work." (p. 200) And there seems, in Snedden's opinion, to be a somewhat similar perplexity about the present status of the non-vocational or non-professional (liberal arts) college. (p. 209)

The third book of this quartet uses the literary device of Utopian prognostication in the form of a picture entitled *American High Schools and Vocational Schools in 1960*. Like all Utopias its principal worth lies in revealing the state of the author's mind and the dominant social values of his time. Taking it in that sense we

see that Professor Snedden is convinced of the following outcome in 1960:

Children will play and grow and learn in the home and community until the age of ten, when formal schooling will begin. All vocational aspects will have been dropped from the high schools, and the notion that there is any value in formal training, as such, will have been long forgotten. Extracurricular activities will then be included in the curriculum proper, and increasing specialization will be the order of the day, encouraging diversity instead of uniformity, opening the way for now unheard-of courses for those desiring to pursue some particular interest, such as a six-year course in ancient Greek language and literature, or a "club course" in amateur ornithology. Moreover, high school students irked by school attendance will be permitted to do their work *in absentia*, and to *contract* for the performance of pieces of work to be reported on only at long intervals.

Cultural values in the sense of the non-utilitarian values will be the principal objective, and avocational development will take the place of our present barren vocational "training." Central vocational schools will attend to the preparation of students for occupational orientation. The present day "citizenship" training courses, having proved an "illusion and pretense" (p. 44), will have been abandoned also, and an extended program of social studies will aim at a better mastery and appreciation of the social sciences as bodies of cultural content. (pp. 92-93)

On the other hand "the nearly four thousand distinctive vocations" existing in 1960 will be subsumed under "some four-score major classifications," with accessible vocational schools to open the way into the various occupations then present in the social order. By this bold separation the two great educational values or goals, namely, "appreciations" and "performance power," will both be served, and the functions of "proximate" and "deferred" value courses, more clearly perceived and utilized.

*Towards Better Educations*, the last of this group of books, is a more extensive work which takes the form of a series of critical analyses of certain problems of American education now engaging the thought of teachers. The method is by extensive quotations from leading educational writings, accompanied by critical comments and expositions. The topics, like those of the preceding books, deal with growths, learnings, teachings, educations, methods and objectives, subjects, courses, curricula, and the integration of school experiences

into specific educations to meet the capacities of various types of learners. Dr. Snedden is always objective, pluralistic, and hard-headedly practical, quick to demand always the plans and specifications for every fine theory and philosophy of education.

This book presents a wealth of solid material and stimulating criticism for the advanced student of school problems. The major thesis, as stated in the preface, is that "excessively large proportions of, if not nearly all, writings on and discussions of 'modern' or 'progressive' educations of recent years have centered on problems of *methods* of education, whilst nevertheless giving teachers and policy makers the impression that theories of *aims* or *purposes* were no less being considered than were theories of *methods*."

Among the educational writers quoted, none appears more often than Dr. Dewey. For that veteran leader Dr. Snedden expresses his own high personal and professional esteem, but the uniform tenor of his comments reveals the fundamental opposition of his own philosophy to that of Dewey; or at least to "Dr. Dewey's followers," who are the specific objects of Snedden's trenchant and often convincing criticisms. Perhaps the essential difference between the two thinkers may be summed up in the following, where, after quoting from Dewey's *School and Society*, Snedden remarks: "This extract again well illustrates Dr. Dewey's almost exclusive preoccupations with methods of school educations and his disregard of specifications on *values*, the valued *ends* or *outcomes*, the *functional* effects, in modern civilized societies, of such educations." (p. 123) And in an earlier passage Snedden suggests that "much of the writing of Dr. Dewey on school and other educations will become clear and largely defensible if we think of him as visioning almost constantly, whilst writing, children from 4 to 9 years of age." (pp. 20 and 53) This, however, is the period of life which Snedden would leave to free play in the home and play-place, considering that much superior to the "excessively artificial, controlled, 'bloodless' coöperations and coördinations of 'school societies.'" (p. 42) On the whole, it is quite clear that Dewey is primarily psychological, while Snedden is essentially sociological in method of approach to the problem of schools and education.

C. M. C.

**APPLIED EUGENICS.** By PAUL POPENOE and ROSWELL HILL JOHNSON. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933, revised edition, pp. ix+429.

**THE EUGENIC PREDICAMENT.** By S. J. HOLMES. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1933, pp. xi+232.

Never was there a time when the study and practice of eugenics were more timely than now with overpopulation a characteristic of more countries than ever before, and with technological processes turning out the employed to join the ranks of the unemployed. Never was it more important to foster a select population rather than mere numbers. In the fifteen years since the first edition of the volume on *Applied Eugenics* by Popenoe and Johnson appeared great strides have been made in the details of eugenics, but not in its fundamental principles. The first edition of *Applied Eugenics* is so well known and so extensively used as a textbook that the revised edition need not be reviewed here except to say that the authors have rewritten their treatise from cover to cover taking cognizance of the new developments in the field and increasing the usefulness of a work already widely influential.

Professor Holmes, greatly interested in race betterment, grows pessimistic when he considers the future of mankind. In his volume *The Eugenic Predicament*, first, he presents data showing how the mentally defective are subject to the iron laws of heredity; then he indicates how "superior ability" is likewise subject. One might easily conclude that the great mass of people who do much of the world's work, who furnish many leaders and who reach the levels of superior achievement are also heredity-made, but the conclusion would doubtless be ill-founded and fail to give social stimuli proper credit.

The eugenic predicament to which the author points is the fact that the more intelligent people become the lower the birth rate goes. "The more intelligent are being outbred by those on a lower mental level." Similar disconcerting statements are: "Our race is at present in a relatively dysgenic stage in its biological history." Up to now the influence of birth control "has been chiefly dysgenic," for it has enabled the educated to cut down their birth rate while the dull and stupid replenish the race. As a zoologist the author undoubtedly sees the hereditary factors out of proportion to environmental influences. Yet his scholarship and standing are such that each of his conclusions deserves a full consideration.

E. S. B.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. By LEWIS L. LORWIN. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1933, pp. xix+573.

Under the supervision of the Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, Mr. Lorwin has written a praiseworthy account of his research into the history, policies, and prospects of the American Federation of Labor. A truly sympathetic perspective of the Federation is given, and the kindly constructive criticisms should be warmly appreciated by the leaders of the labor movement. For the research student in labor economics, it should prove invaluable.

Six important considerations form the background of the investigation: namely, the conditioning of the character of the Federation, its changing policies, its achievements and failures, its general effect upon the labor movement in the United States, its operation and pursuance of policies, and the future course of its activities in the light of present economic trends. What distinguishes the technique of handling these considerations is the author's ability to interpret the meaning of the whole social situation as related at any one time to these particulars. Five main factors of American socio-economic development are listed as explanations of the peculiar characteristics of the American Federation, that is, its non-socialistic character, its denial of the theory of class struggle, its pragmatic outlook and business policies, and its limited economic and social powers. These are: (1) the dynamic character of American industry, preventing stratification of wage-earning groups; (2) the heterogeneity of the American wage-earning groups, preventing class feeling and class ideas; (3) the evolution of a peculiarly American nationalistic outlook which the workers have assimilated; (4) the tendency of the skilled workers to enshrine themselves as leaders in the labor movement of a protectorate against the unskilled, and, (5) the growing influence of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers in forcing the Federation to advocate a more dynamic program of economic reform. Looking toward the future, the author concludes that three tendencies may condition the trend of organized unionism,—company unionism, efforts on the part of the conservatives to maintain the status quo, and governmental intrusion. Indeed, I should say that the Roosevelt N. I. R. A. movement would indicate that the later tendency will dominate for some time to come. As it is, the union leaders may well extend blessings upon this development, for it has



revived dying hopes and given new impetus to the membership campaign. The probabilities are that with this added governmental aid, organized unionism will assume a far more aggressive attitude and may, under new leadership, even swing as far as the shadows of the left wing.

M. J. V.

**VOLUNTARY ALLOTMENT.** *Planned Production in American Agriculture.* By EDWARD S. MEAD and BERNHARD OSTROLENK. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1933, pp. v+147.

After describing the change from prosperity to poverty or at least profitless production for the American farmer, the authors present and support what is known as the Voluntary Allotment Plan. Owing to nationalistic tariff barriers and other obstacles to foreign trade, they favor production planned for domestic consumption without counting on any foreign exportation of agricultural products or, in any case, with a reduction of exportation and without recourse to dumping. The farmers are to be organized on a monopoly basis and are to reduce agricultural output all along the line so as to increase prices. The farmers who coöperate and join the organization would actually be paid to reduce their acreage. As a result, the farmer would be guaranteed the world price plus the tariff and also a bonus. The burden for increased costs or higher prices, in order to rehabilitate agriculture, would be borne largely by the city population. There is a basic assumption that city workers generally have more income than the farmers and can well afford to share with the latter, say to the extent of at least thirty-five dollars per capita annually. Farm relief, for the authors, would be the best way and the only sure way out of the depression. Granted that farm relief is necessary, yet it seems a bit overdrawn to "repeal" the law of supply and demand and, having brought about artificial scarcity of goods, successfully to fix prices in a competitive economic system. Nor does it seem possible, to this reviewer, that limitation of acreage or destruction of crops will in any manner increase the general purchasing power in the country. It is not a question of unit prices for the farmers so much as a question of more equitable distribution for them and millions of other workers, that is involved. But to take away from the urban workers' income in order to increase the farmers' buying power surely is not the solution.

J. E. N.

THE DYNAMICS OF THERAPY IN A CONTROLLED RELATIONSHIP. By JESSIE TAFT. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933, pp. 296.

Dr. Taft shows remarkable courage in publishing this excellent exposition of her experiment in therapeutic methodology. Verbatim records have appeared in the psychotherapeutic literature before, but usually the verbal production of the patient is all that has been revealed. It takes courage to lay oneself bare as the author has done, and yet investigations and experiments in this field are of minor value unless both sides of the dynamic psycho-social situation are revealed.

Perhaps the chief contribution of this book is its recording, although the theoretical content and interpretive methodology is also quite significant. The psycho-social sciences are rich in theory and interpretation, but woefully weak in truly adequate source material.

To the reviewer three aspects of the book that especially stand out for comment are: First, the author's material indicates that the therapist's own subjective states may become almost an instrument of precision when adequate honesty and insight are present. A truly objective method of studying the human personality and human interrelationships is possible only up to a certain point since, after all, there is the fact of subjectivity. To what extent is it possible to be objective toward that which is essentially subjective? Certainly serious attempts should be made to answer this question.

Second, the author indicates the "in between the lines" meanings of the behavior of her two patients. This is a highly interpretive procedure, which deals with the meanings of behavior in much the same way as one would use similes, parables, or charades. It presupposes a complete psychic determination and the ability of the therapist to validly determine the meanings which lie back of the behavior. Difficult and perhaps questionable as this whole process may be, the reviewer believes we might better attempt to face it thoughtfully rather than to dismiss it in a superior manner as intuitive and hence unworthy of scientific scrutiny.

Third, the author seems to emphasize the possessive and competitive patterns with their associated hate. Certainly this aspect of child psychology is important and has in the past received little of the attention it deserves. One might view it as dealing with the problems of development and preservation of individual identity

without the complication of those problems that arise out of sexual differentiation. It may be that the more serious difficulty of the two cases recorded resided principally in this competitive sphere. However, one cannot help but wonder if the content of the patient's productions might not have been different if the therapist had weighed and measured the factor of sexual differentiation entering into the therapeutic relationship as fully as she has gauged the factor of volitional competition.

E. Van Norman Emery, M.D.

**SOCIAL DECAY AND EUGENICAL REFORM.** By F. C. S. SCHILLER. Constable & Co., London, 1932, pp. vii+164.

Dr. Schiller has written a splendid and brilliant plea for the adoption of the positive eugenical policies by nations which would preserve the peace of the world and insure social progress. His indictment of the decline and decay of present-day society is particularly timely, for, as he states, there are all too many indications that the complex mechanisms of modern life seems to have gotten out of hand. Certainly, there does seem to be an abundance of moronic inability, evident in the very fact of a failure to interpret the past correctly enough to plan for the future.

Wisely, he points out that we are now practically sterilizing the eugenically fit by the penalties of heavy taxation, much of which goes to meet the expenses of maintaining the *dysgenic* classes. But the plan to invoke the aid of a positive eugenics program is of course the most difficult task which confronts the eugenicist, in so far as its nature is concerned. At first reading, Dr. Schiller's plan sounds a bit fantastic, but after a careful analysis of it is made by the reader, it appears more practical. It is, in effect, a scheme to create a eugenic aristocracy composed of large family or clan-like groups which would, through careful selection and mating, seek to perpetuate the fit. Much depends upon the fervor which can be put into the young through planned eugenical education. The realization that the breeding of better men will make nations safe from inferior racial stocks in the matter of competition in all lines should force the rapid adoption of the eugenic proposals. But how to bring this realization to pass? How many more pleas like this will we have to digest, or do we need another flood?

M. J. V.

**DYNAMIC SOCIAL RESEARCH.** By JOHN J. HADER and EDWARD C. LINDEMAN. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1933, pp. x+23.

**OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR.** By DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS, ALICE M. LOOMIS, RUTH E. ARRINGTON, assisted by ELEANOR C. ISBELL. Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1933, pp. xvii+271.

The authors of *Dynamic Social Research* have used the sessions of an employer-employee committee or conference and analyzed the procedure in terms of four "hypotheses of social dynamics," three sets of relationships between the research agent and the research source, and six research techniques and devices. The four hypotheses are: (1) impulsion, or the needs, wants, and purposes generated by individuals, but expressed in social modes; (2) circumjacence or the various conditioning, limiting, and channeling factors in groups; (3) interaction, or stimuli and responses; and (4) emergence, or any evolutionary change in joint action. The three sets of relationships considered in research are: (1) person to person, (2) person to event, and (3) person to record. The six techniques for and devices of research are: (1) interviewing; (2) observing, participant; (3) observing, direct; (4) case analysis; (5) charting; and (6) statistics. The first two are related to person-to-person phenomena; the second two, to person-to-event phenomena; and the third pair, to person-to-record data. The authors contend that "dynamic social research is an appropriate term because somehow research should "be usable as an implement of social change." They also believe that social research should divest itself of "certain naïve preconceptions concerning so-called objectivity, disinterestedness, and value," and interpret facts in terms of "human purposes, desires, and values." Although perhaps too highly schematic for the ordinary research person, the treatment of research in this volume will be found original and stimulating at a number of significant points.

The observational method of studying individual behavior is pushed forward considerably by Dr. Thomas and her associates. The nonparticipant observer notes the behavior of individual children, and records each act by short time-units. When the method is applied to adults, the effect on the persons observed of being watched constitutes a special problem, which the experimenters have taken cognizance of, but which they have not examined fully. Further experimentation and control at this point are undoubtedly needed.

Another special problem of great importance is the interpretation of the observed acts in terms of personality, attitudes, and values. The experimenters have made progress in this direction, but a great deal of additional work needs to be done before the full meaning of observed acts can be stated. If behavior over a period of time is indicative of attitudes, then this observational technique is thoroughly basic and sound. One problem that has received extended attention is the reliability of the observers or the disagreements between observers of the same behavior. Here the authors have presented elaborate analyses and have safeguarded their methods extensively. Volume II will be forthcoming soon and will doubtless present further safeguards of a technique that is exceedingly valuable. E. S. B.

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT. By <sup>S</sup>EDGAR ~~LYDEN~~STRICKER.  
McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1933, pp. xii+217.

This book is one of the monographs prepared under the direction of the Research Committee on Social Trends appointed by President Hoover. An important chapter deals with the nature and extent of ill health. It shows that infant mortality has declined rapidly in recent years, but that deaths due to organic diseases have greatly increased.

Other chapters consider geographic environment, contrasts between rural and urban life, economic status, occupation, and social environment. The trend of mortality is downward. Figures for Massachusetts show that the expectation of life for males rose from 34.5 years in 1789 to 56.8 years in 1929, and that for females from 36.5 years to 61.36. The most rapid increase has transpired since the year 1900.

In summarizing his conclusions, the author says that little positive evidence has been accumulated relating to the effects produced by hereditary forces. It has been easier to note some of the results of environmental changes. Certain diseases, such as goiter, many infectious diseases, and tuberculosis, have been influenced by improved conditions. The span of life has not changed appreciably; the effects of a differential birth rate cannot yet be determined; but we may be reasonably certain that the race will be more vigorous and happier in days to come.

G. B. M.



**YUMAN TRIBES OF THE GILA RIVER.** By **LESLIE SPIER.**  
University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1933, pp. xviii  
+433.

A complete description of the life and culture of Yuman-speaking tribes of southern Arizona, notably the Maricopa, is available in this book. Although there is considerable wealth of detail, it does not become burdensome to the reader because the manner of relating it is engaging and human interest is maintained. The pattern of the book provides stress on tribal distribution and interrelation, the basis of subsistence, description of their houses, dress and adornment, the nature of their manufactures, social relations in war and in peace, the kinship system, customs in dance, religion, or in death ceremonies. The social structure, the dream basis of their religion, and the folk tales receive the greatest amount of space, but the other topics make up generous portions. There is keen appreciation of the influence of the superstitions and especially of the dream-like psychology of the people. The author, in this commendable book, allows us to understand better the primitive living conditions of these Yuman tribes, and for this it would seem as if his interpreter, Mrs. Ida Redbird, should deserve some share of the praise. The work as a whole is an excellent contribution to ethnology.

J. E. N.

**STUDIES IN SOCIOLOGY.** By **MORRIS GINSBERG.** Methuen & Company, Ltd., London, 1932, pp. viii+288.

Ten essays are presented by the author, who is the Martin White Professor of Sociology in the University of London, having succeeded to this chair once occupied so well by Leonard T. Hobhouse. The essays deal with such topics as the scope of sociology; the nature of social evolution; instinct, emotion, social purpose; and eugenics. The style is clear and pleasing, and the content wholesome and stimulating.

In the first chapter the author contends that the object of sociology is to determine the nature of and to trace the growth of social groupings and the institutions which regulate and maintain these groupings. It is also claimed that by quantitative methods sociology should measure the interrelations between institutions and "the degree of correlated growth," formulate laws of such growth, and "interpret these laws in the light of the more ultimate laws of life and mind." Thus, sociology is given a task, ranging from scientific measurement to philosophical interpretation. Each of the chapters that follow is equally thought-provoking.

E. S. B.

**AN INTRODUCTION TO WESTERN CIVILIZATION.** Edited by GEORGE A. HEDGER. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, pp. xi+854.

This book has been written to supply a text for what is generally termed an orientation course, but it deserves to have a wider reading public than that. It has been carefully planned and well executed by fourteen professors in several colleges and universities, and these have succeeded remarkably well in giving us a coöperative synthesis that is notable for continuity and unity. The introductory sections dealing with the beginnings of life, evolution with its significance for man, and the biological, geographic, and social factors in human culture are conservative, well founded, and up-to-date. The development of western culture is then traced from prehistoric times, through the Near East, Greek, Roman, and Middle Age cultures up to Modern times; but the presentation is by no means a duplication of some other short histories of civilization known to the present writer. A feature that should appeal to one interested in social values is the discussion of the descent of several basic institutions, such as the economic, political, domestic, educational, and religious institutions. Thus the work gains in significance when the orientation is supposed to introduce concepts important in several social sciences. The references for further reading, appended to each chapter, are commendable not only as to choice of subject matter by recognized authorship, but because they are of the kind readily available in libraries. Topics and questions for class discussion add to the textual value. While books of this kind are sometimes too encyclopedic and heavy, here is one that is truly interesting in style and rich in content.

J. E. N.

**ADULT PROBATION.** By JUSTIN MILLER and ASSOCIATES. Adult Probation Proceedings Publication Committee, 3551 University Avenue, Los Angeles, 1933, pp. 70.

This is an abstract of the papers and discussions of the Adult Probation Section of the Institute of Government held at the University of Southern California in the summer of 1932. Policies and procedures were freely discussed from many points of view under the able leadership of Dean Miller and Judge Herbert Cochran. It is a splendid exhibit of the practical problems which probation now faces and the present state of probation as a social work technique.

E. F. Y.

**THE NEW LEISURE CHALLENGES THE SCHOOLS.** By EUGENE T. LIES. National Recreation Association, New York, 1933, pp. xi+326.

**LEISURE AND ITS USE.** By HERBERT L. MAY and DOROTHY PETGEN. A. S. Barnes and Company, New York, 1928, pp. 268.

Mr. Lies' study represents an important contribution to the understanding of what the schools are doing to educate pupils for leisure. The data pertain to public schools in cities of 5,000 and upward secured through consultation with educators and conferences with school officials, field visits to thirty-five public school systems, an analysis of annual school reports and special literature on the leisure-time education programs, information gathered by means of two questionnaires and a special schedule. The writer endeavored to ascertain the extent to which leisure is a problem for the schools, the extent of education for the recreation use of leisure through the daily program, the content of school programs for leisure education and prevailing teaching practices, the after school hours and vacation time, evening schools, recreational opportunities for non-school youths and adults, and the place of the school in relation to other factors in the solution of the problem of leisure. Living experiences are more effective in educating for leisure than subject matter. Physical education needs a large injection of the play and recreation spirit; and reading, to be most effective, must be made enjoyable. Dramatics, art, handicrafts, nature study, and social activities provide rich experiences. Education for leisure extends beyond the school fence to include after-school hours and vacation time.

The book by May and Petgen is an older one but still important in that it contains a wealth of material concerning the leisure programs of the leading European countries, notably Germany, England, and France, with notes on other countries, and a supplement on recreation in the United States. Both books were sponsored by the National Recreation Association, which organization is noted for the careful and painstaking way in which the material is gathered and handled. In reading such works one has the feeling that the treatments are authentic. They are compilations of first-hand information secured through field studies.

M. H. N.

## International Notes

*Edited by* JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE met a thunderbolt when Germany suddenly withdrew, not only from the conference, but also from the League of Nations. Several reasons have been given for the withdrawal. For one thing, Germany is tired of being treated as a second-rate power under the biased interpretation of the Versailles treaty that has been prevalent. Another reason has been mentioned that may or may not be significant; that is, Germany objects to the League's having been used for voicing Jewish and Communistic opinion or policy. It might be mentioned in particular, however, that while Germany may in one breath say that she is willing to disarm completely, she usually adds in the next that she has a right to equal armament alongside of other members who dominate the League. It is the old refrain: if England, France, Italy, or other nations do not disarm in fulfillment of the League Covenant, then Germany is not under obligations to continue indefinitely at a disadvantage from the standpoint of armament. Germany's recent proposal that she be allowed to rearm on a basis of equality has been rejected by those who would fear Germany on a militant basis. France has indicated that the members were on the verge of submitting a genuine disarmament program at the conference when Germany bolted. Can they go on with such a proposal after this turn of events? Germany must have doubted that any plans favored her militant Nazi ambitions. France, speaking self-righteously, says that Germany, if she were sincere in her expressions favoring complete disarmament, would not insist upon a chance to rearm, even defensively, especially since Germany has been attacked by no nation since the War. But France has only recently insisted upon safety in the Rhine zone, and she has also boasted of her preparedness in self-defense. Sometimes the situation has been described as so tense that another all-European war seems imminent. Let us hope that the several nations are not so lacking in leadership as that would mean. Hitlerism has been so flavored with saber-rattling that war

clouds are bound to be associated with his policies. Perhaps it is the question of Nazi influence, or fascism with all of its centralization, on the one hand, and that of socialism and radicalism on the other, which seem to keep European countries in turmoil. It is difficult to play a middle rôle. France and Poland, for instance, may in time think it necessary to march on Berlin to prevent Nazi encroachment. Would Italy dare to join in with the German Nazis if that were to happen? At the present moment, the French are trying to arrange a new tri-power treaty among England, Italy, and themselves, as a counter step because of Germany's withdrawal from the League and the disarmament conference. Germany's action has added another instance of the weak organization of the League—the other one in mind being Japan's withdrawal. But the weakness of the League is shown no less by the fact that so many pacts and three- or four-powered treaties have been formed in order to maintain a semblance of peaceful motivation, or to limit any nation in the building of armaments, or to line up certain countries in association for defensive purposes. Nothing could testify more strongly to the policy of inequality that has been characteristic within the ranks of the League members.

IF ONE is in doubt that there are any causes sufficient to bring about war in Europe, if such excuse were wanted, let him keep his eye on Austria. That country is jealously guarding her independence from Germany, and the French government has announced that it will guarantee Austrian independence. So far, the French have not had to pay the guaranty, but things are happening in Austria. Fascism is now the order of the day, with Chancellor Dollfuss holding five portfolios. Anti-Nazi action has been at fever point. The struggle is sharp against socialists also. So the trend in Austria is definitely one of fascistic centralization. Then Austria's nationalism becomes an issue to defend against Hitlerism with its ambitions for a greater Germany.

FOUR GOVERNMENTS within a month is Cuba's record. Since September 10, Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin has, as president, tried to control Cuba's turbulent affairs. Although Uruguay and Panama have recognized the San Martin government, the United States has not done so as yet. The delay may be due to the uncertainty regarding the new Cuban constitution which is to be drafted soon. It



is said that the Platt Amendment, which forms a part of the Cuban constitution hitherto in effect, and which gives the United States the right to intervene in affairs there, may be left out of the new constitution. At any rate, extreme nationalism is the avowed objective of those now in power, provisional as the government may be. Efforts are still concentrated on ridding the country of abuses such as characterized the Machado régime.

THE PHILIPPINE SENATE has rejected the terms of the Hawes-Cutting Bill, which provides for insular freedom in ten years; restriction of imports to the United States during the interim, and retention of American military reservation in the islands. They still have plenty of time for reconsideration and acceptance of the terms mentioned. Apparently the Filipinos want freedom without losing the protection of the United States. It becomes a question of advantages for either party. Can the United States afford to continue the expense, trouble, and responsibility if the Philippines remain as a sort of protectorate? Or is it not possible that special American economic interests, like those of sugar, are influencing the political disposition in their favor?

IN LATIN AMERICA, six countries have signed an antiwar treaty. The republics that have signed are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Mexico, and Uruguay. The agreement condemns aggressive war, and the adherents pledge themselves not to recognize territorial acquisitions gained by force. Should a dispute arise between any of the contracting parties, the others agree to take a joint stand to effect peace by legal means. There is to be no intervention, either diplomatic or armed. Perhaps this action for peace will have effect on the Gran Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay, and it should be noted that Paraguay is one of the signers of the treaty mentioned. Bolivia and Paraguay had already indicated that they would welcome an offer of mediation by President Roosevelt. It is not clear just why the countries cannot stop fighting of their own accord. Can it be that either one is afraid of losing face before the other? What a pitiful loss of lives, not to mention economic waste, when friendly arbitration could settle all differences, and that will probably be the final outcome.

## Social Fiction Notes

**LITTLE MAN, WHAT NOW?** By HANS FALLADA. (Tr. by ERIC SUTTON.) Simon and Schuster, New York, 1933, pp. vii+383.

This deeply sympathetic and poignant novel may in the future come to be regarded as the epic which will have to be inscribed to the "forgotten man." Certainly it will be regarded as truly representative of the spirit of the middle-class in depression times, and this despite the fact that its action takes place in Germany. The utter simplicity of the story, told with the aid of an injection of a delicious brand of subtly gay humor, at once appeals to the reader. Indeed, I know of no recently written novel which has penetrated with such deep insight into the characters of two people who, ordinarily, would not be seized upon to become the central figures of an important tale. The result is that two humble and quite ordinary persons, Herr Pinneberg and Bunny Mörschel, become memorable figures. The author shows that he can reconstruct convincingly social situations, which enhances considerably the value of the book.

The tale begins with the visit of Bunny to a gynecologist, from whom she learns that she is soon to become a mother. Whereupon, Pinneberg, who is rather tired of the trials of courtship, decides that they had better get married at once, even though both are unprepared to establish a household. Pinneberg earns little while Bunny knows little about cooking. Then comes the loss of his job and the removal to Berlin, where his sportive mother conducts a boisterous rooming house. Through the influence of his mother's lover, he gets a job in Mandel's department store. The first salary check purchases a vanity-dressing table for Bunny! They remember the expenses for the expected arrival later.

The boarding house with its midnight revelries is given up, and the couple move to a tiny loft above an old furniture shop. Soon after the arrival of the baby, Pinneberg, proud father, becomes officious with a customer and is once more out of work. Thrust on the dole, they are offered refuge in a rude lodge in the suburbs, where Bunny tries to keep the spirit of romance aflame, even though it is she who now has to seek work. Pinneberg remains at home with the baby, but gradually loses his hopes for a brighter future. Here is no tragedy of heroics, but a tragi-comedy which leaves one silently wondering—Little man, What Now?

M. J. V.

# Alpha Kappa Delta Notes

## UNITED CHAPTERS OF ALPHA KAPPA DELTA

T. EARL SULLENGER, *Editor and National Secretary*  
*Municipal University of Omaha*

Here are a few abbreviated news items selected from the files of the National Secretary. The most interesting items will be used for this page whenever space permits. Local chapters are requested to keep the National Office informed of all local activities of general interest. Extra copies of the October issue of the *News Letter* will be sent to any interested individual or group on request.

### Alpha of North Carolina—University of North Carolina

Programs for the year are to take the form of open forum discussions, with "Sociology in the Shape of Things to Come" as the central theme. The chapter is aiding in promoting student interest in social problems.

### Gamma of New York—New York University

Several of the members are working on research projects at present. Charles Marotta is working on the "Homeless Boy Problem," and Harold Kamsler is engaged in a study of "Recreation in a Metropolitan Area."

Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel spent four months with the Comanche Indians of Oklahoma. Dr. C. G. Dittmer spent six months in Barbados.

### Alpha of Washington—University of Washington

Last spring, near the close of the year, a banquet was held which was attended by forty-seven persons. John Hall, Director of the Community Chest, was toastmaster. New members were initiated at this time.

## Alpha of Nebraska—Municipal University of Omaha

Dr. Lyman Harris, Assistant Professor of History, spoke on "Disarmament Conferences, Their Successes and Failures" at the first meeting of the year. An alumni directory is being prepared by the chapter. The A. K. D. day last spring was a real success.

## Alpha of Wisconsin—University of Wisconsin

Twenty-three new members were initiated on November 17. Plans are being made for a great A. K. D. year.

## Beta of Ohio—Ohio University

Two honorary members have recently been initiated by this chapter. This honor went to Margaret Lutz and Judge Samuel M. Johnson in recognition of their outstanding work in connection with unemployment relief and their services for the chapter and the department.

## Gamma of Illinois—University of Illinois

Fourteen new members were initiated on October 18. Dr. A. C. Stewart of the Department of Agricultural Economics, spoke on "Observations on the Land and Population of Western Europe."